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# Daily Report

# East Europe

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# Daily Report
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*FBIS-EEU-88-209* *28 October 1988*

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## GDR-USSR Military Exercises Conclude

### Observers Briefed

*AU2510143988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22-23 OCT 88 p 3*

[Rainer Funke dispatch: "Great Skills Were Proved at Joint Maneuvers"]

[Text] Magdeburg—On Friday [21 October] the joint troop exercises of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the National People's Army [NVA] in the area of Wittstock, Gardelegen, Magdeburg, Zehdenick, and Feldberg were characterized by great skills and close cooperation between the staffs and troops of the two fraternal armies. As on the previous day, observers from 17 CSCE signatory states attended the exercises, which were led by Major General Aleksey Mityuchin, commander of a GSFG Army.

A highlight was the storming of the River Elbe near Sandau at noon, where motorized rifle and tank units crossed the river. They received air support from fighter bombers and combat helicopters. Pioneer troops built bridges and established bridgeheads for ferries, which also brought artillery, grenade launchers, and antiaircraft units, as well as troops of the rear services across the river.

In the positions of the NVA's Paul-Hegenbart regiment, Colonel Heinz Klose, deputy commander of the exercises, briefed the observers on the situation. Battalion commander Lieutenant Colonel Ingo Sperling explained the orders of his unit. Soldiers answered questions. For instance, there were talks between Lieutenant Colonel Chris Hughes (Great Britain), Noncommissioned Officer Steffen Kroll, and Private Guido Bredau, as well as between Lieutenant Colonel Philippe Martineaux (France) and soldier Jens Florett on the preparations for this highlight of their training and the tasks of the exercises. In the afternoon the observers visited a regiment first-aid station.

In a talk with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Major General Peter Herrich, head of the assistant staff, recalled that the current exercise is the sixth on GDR territory to be attended by observers since the Stockholm document came into force on 1 January 1987. During this time about 250 representatives from 27 CSCE signatory states have used this opportunity to convince themselves of the peace assignment and the willingness for peace of the socialist armed forces in line with the defense doctrine of the Warsaw Pact.

To date, the GDR has sent NVA officers to observe 40 exercises, including 16 NATO exercises. The general said that confidence-building measures are a firm element of the security policy of the Warsaw Pact states. Like the NVA, the GDR fulfills all its obligations in line with the Stockholm document and will continue to do so, Maj Gen Herrich stressed.

### Officials Bid Farewell

*AU2710181288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Oct 88 p 2*

[Rainer Funke dispatch: "Comrades-in-Arms Concluded Joint Troop Maneuvers"]

[Text] Magdeburg—On Sunday [23 October] the 1-week exercise of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the National People's Army was concluded in the areas of Wittstock, Gardelegen, Magdeburg, Zehdenick, and Feldberg. The participating staffs and troops returned to the garrisons with their combat equipment.

On Saturday afternoon, the 33 representatives of 17 CSCE signatory states attended the embarkation of the first units at Jaevenitz railroad station, from which they were transported back to their posts. The number of participants in the exercise thus fell below the threshold fixed in the Stockholm document on maneuvers attended by observers.

On behalf of the GDR Government and Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, Major General Rudolf Magnitzke, deputy chief of the General Staff of the National People's Army, bade farewell to the representatives of the CSCE states. He said that over the past few days they had been able to convince themselves that the GDR strictly adheres to the stipulations of the Stockholm document for confidence-building measures and security and disarmament. Exercises as well as the training of troops and the staff of the Joint Armed Forces do not threaten anyone and are oriented toward sufficient defense capability, the general stressed. This is fully in the spirit of confidence-building and thus corresponds to the spirit of the Stockholm document, which has to be fulfilled in the future, too.

In spite of differing views, which also became obvious during the past exercise, overcoming military confrontation and the arms race—both with regard to nuclear and conventional weapons—should become an even stronger common concern in view of the resulting danger to the peoples. Maj Gen Magnitzke said that the starting point for this is in the efforts to prevent war and the search for trust, stability, and security.

On Saturday the observers followed the events in the Magdeburg training center, which consisted of dynamic combat actions. On this day of the exercise, the "southerners," which to date had fulfilled their tasks in defense, took the initiative and made a counterattack.

## Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Meet in Budapest

### Conference Opens

*LD2810093388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 28 Oct 88*

[Text] In Budapest the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministerial Committee meeting has opened. The foreign ministers of the seven European socialist countries are participating in the regular meeting.

### Varkonyi Welcomes Ministers

*LD2710222488 Budapest MTI in English 2120 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Budapest, October 27 (MTI)—To attend the session of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, to be opened on Friday, Foreign Ministers Petar Mladenov of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Oskar Fischer of the German Democratic Republic, Tadeusz Olechowski of the Polish People's Republic, Ioan Totu, of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Eduard Schevarnadze of the Soviet Union, and Jaromir Johanes, of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, arrived in Budapest on Thursday. The invited guests were met at the airport by the Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi.

### Defense Pact Ministers End Talks in Prague

*AU2110200988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 88 p 1*

[CTK report: "Session of Warsaw Pact States' Defense Ministers Concluded; Collaboration Between Armies of the Allied Countries Vitally Important; Joint Meeting of Foreign Affairs and Defense Ministers Under Preparation; Participants in Negotiations Received by Comrade Milos Jakes"]

[Text] Prague—A regular session of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact Member States, chaired by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, was held in Prague on 17 and 18 October. The session was attended by the defense ministers and the commander-in-chief and chief of staff of the Allied Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states.

The Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states discussed in Prague the issues of practical activities carried out by the Allied Armed Forces, and the implementation of peace initiatives that had been launched by the Warsaw Pact member states and approved at the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee in July 1988; the committee adopted appropriate resolutions.

The session was held in a businesslike atmosphere, in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

Army General Milan Vaclavik granted the reporters from CTK, Czechoslovak Television, and OBRANA LIDU an interview on the course of the regular session of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states:

The main sphere of issues we assessed us during the deliberations covered tasks which resulted from this year's Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee, which had determined our further course from the viewpoint of disarmament programs.

We also discussed the improvement of our working methods, and assessed certain political aspects from the viewpoint of results reached in the negotiations of the follow-up Vienna meeting, as well as from the viewpoint of the overall military-political situation in the world. We also considered certain issues which should de facto help us resolve the problems which will be formulated at the joint meeting of the Warsaw Pact ministers of foreign affairs and of defense (which is being prepared). We also conferred on the specific proposals we will be submitting to the next session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states.

— The participants in the regular session of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states were received by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, in Prague on Tuesday [18 October].

Army General Milan Vaclavik briefed the general secretary on the course and results of the session.

Milos Jakes expressed appreciation for the attention the committee paid in its deliberations to the implementation of the conclusions adopted at the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states in July 1988. He underscored that it is vital for the armies of the allied countries to collaborate in providing for the defense of the Warsaw Pact states and in protecting the results of their people's creative peaceful work. He emphasized the efforts of fraternal communist parties to achieve the adoption of specific disarmament measures and to strengthen confidence, security, and cooperation in Europe and in the world. He briefed those present on the conclusions reached during the deliberations at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session on the realization of economic restructuring and of the democratization of political and social life in Czechoslovakia.

Viktor Kulikov replied on behalf of the participants in the session.

The reception, which took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere, was also attended by Rudolf Hegenbart, CPCZ Central Committee member and Central Committee department head.

The Warsaw Pact ministers of defense departed from Prague on the same day.

### More on Defense Meeting

*AU2110184588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Oct 88 p 5*

[Unattributed report: "On Results of the Meeting of the Warsaw Pact Member States' Defense Ministers Committee"]

[Text] An ordinary meeting of the Warsaw Pact Member States' Defense Ministers Committee was held between 17 and 18 October 1988 in Prague, under the chairmanship of the CSSR minister of national defense.

The meeting was attended by the defense ministers, commander-in-chief, and chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

The Defense Ministers Committee examined issues concerning the practical activity of the Joint Armed Forces and the implementation of peace initiatives formulated by the pact member states at the 1988 Warsaw meeting of the Consultative Political Committee, and adopted appropriate measures.

The meeting was held in a working atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual friendship and understanding.

## Directors of Culture Hold Meeting

*AU2410162088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Oct 88 p 7*

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Questions of cultural cooperation were discussed at a meeting of directors of the culture departments of the central committees of communist and workers parties of socialist countries, which took place in Moscow. The participants in the deliberations, among them Ursula Ragwitz, director of the SED Central Committee Culture Department, exchanged opinions on the development of art and culture in their countries. They were received by Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. In the Soviet capital they met with representatives of cultural institutions.

## Journal Urges Youth To Fight 'Liberalism'

*AU2510144788 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 9 Sep 88 pp 57-63*

[Lisen Bashkurti article: "Raising the Standards of Conduct and of Young People's Behavior in Society—At the Focus of the Youth Organization's Attention"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In order to instill in young people the standards of good behavior and conduct as a citizen, the youth organization must fight simultaneously not only against the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and psychology, which try to impose themselves from abroad, but also against the remnants of old ideologies inherited down through the centuries, and against signs of liberal attitudes toward these. Internal and external enemies aim to encourage liberalism first, especially among young people, for they are among the most sensitive layers of society, and are most susceptible to ideological pressure. As the party has stressed, liberalism is an expression of ideological and political opportunism, or moral collapse, and so forth. Under the guise of introducing what is new and modern, it tries to prepare the ground for concessions to our enemies, tolerance of the influences of antisocialist ideologies, weaknesses and failings, and lack of discipline, seeks to lower vigilance and to enfeeble and blunt the response of public opinion to unbecoming conduct and behavior, and to sow apathy everywhere. The youth organizations have had and continue to have a major labor-front in this area.

In the spirit of the instructions of the Fifth AWP Central Committee Plenum, all the nation's young people were involved for 3 successive months in an ideological mass action which focused precisely on problems of young people's behavior and conduct as citizens. Both during the mass action and always, the youth organizations have been giving priority attention to the struggle against symptoms of a liberal character in conduct and behavior. Special staffs have been created in the districts for this purpose, which may and must extend their activities beyond the objectives of this mass action. Groups of discussion leaders have been formed and are in general working well in leading discussions of a high ideological and scientific standard about contemporary issues in the development of culture, morality, behavior, and conduct as a citizen. The work of these groups has been quite fruitful, because foremost figures from the worlds of politics, science, and journalism have been involved in them.

Moreover, in order to increase the operational strength of the youth organization and in order to stimulate the response of public opinion, young people's social control groups have been created everywhere, including comrades from forums and apparat uses, and particularly activists from base organizations. The social control groups operate in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, schools, military units, social facilities, stores, stadiums, palaces of sports and culture, on beaches, promenades, and so forth. Young people's social control groups do not only observe, but intervene directly to repair a situation, and to strike at and eliminate negative aspects of behavior and conduct, and to encourage public opinion to maintain as watchful an attitude as possible against every alien symptom. They carry out ongoing analyses, and do ever more professional persuasive work, cooperating with Democratic Front organizations in city districts, towns, and villages, with trade unions in enterprises, and down to individual families; they criticize by means of wall newspapers, caricatures, and loudspeaker equipment in public places, publicly denouncing those who commit flagrant acts of ruffianism or persons who persist in behavior unworthy of society.

The youth organizations of Elbasan District organized this intensive activity against signs of liberalism in labor well, and the Durres and Tepelene youth organizations did good work against behavior unworthy of society in public places; the Puke and Lezhe youth organizations did good work against coarse behavior and acts of ruffianism. In these organizations, the ideological mass action and all the educational work has borne fruit, especially in the socialist attitude of young people toward labor and property, the enforcement of socialist legality, and a reduction in the number of illegal acts committed. Although all our young people hurled themselves into action following the Fifth AWP Central Committee Plenum in order to raise standards of conduct and citizen-like behavior, and although there have been important achievements, there have been negative phenomena in various aspects of conduct and behavior among the ranks of some young people in such districts and areas as Fier, Bulqize, Qytet Stalin, Lac, and so forth.

There have been antisocialist attitudes toward social and personal property, unpleasant acts in public places, the involvement of young people in criminal deeds, idle loitering in town squares and streets, and foreign radio and television broadcasts have been followed; there has been evidence of foreign fashion in clothing, improper relationships between boys and girls, and so on. The youth organizations of the above-mentioned districts and areas must isolate negative phenomena and those infected with them, and combine educational work with practical measures against every antisocialist incident, cooperating better with other mass organizations, so that their educational work will be effective and have measurable, positive effects.

The party has taught us that the struggle to confront the aggression of bourgeois and revisionist ideology is inseparable from the struggle against vestiges of old, reactionary ideologies, against the remnants of backward customs and petit bourgeois psychology which, although they have often been hard hit in the course of the general development of our socialist revolution, occasionally crop up and are revived, exerting no small influence on various aspects of the conduct and civic behavior of the

younger generation. In some parts of the country, as in Kala e Dodes in Diber District, in Martanesh in Mat District, in the Cermenike area of Librazhd District, and in Liqenas in Korce District, remnants of old ideologies occur, especially in the work being done to emancipate girls. There is still repressive upbringing, with girls considered inferior to men, and some rites and customs that hinder the process of the emancipation of young people, especially girls, are still observed. Vestiges of patriarchal traditions are also evident in the unfair distribution of labor, where there are many cases in which women and girls are overloaded with work in the home, and especially on personal plots.

We come across thinking and conduct characteristic of petit bourgeois behavior in some boys, particularly among those who work in the agricultural sector. In the agricultural enterprises of Mamurras, Krume near Kukes, and in Librazhd, there is no small number of young people who do not meet the standards of socialist conduct at work, who stay absent from work without cause, violate discipline, and fail to fulfill norms, and from time to time there have even been cases of damage to and misappropriation of common property. Some young people are still not free of such backwardness in some economic units too, especially in some construction enterprises, in the engineering industry, in the mines, and in the oil sector. There are also some young people of school age, as at the Pogradec Agricultural Secondary School and the Shkoder Construction School, who, infected by petit bourgeois influences, seek to evade employment in the sector for which they have been trained because they are difficult professions. Vestiges of backward psychology can also be observed in relationships among young people, where coarse and thoughtless behavior are evident, including the use of vulgar and even obscene language, gossip, quarrels and sustained grudges, and so forth.

Youth organizations and committees, involved in ideological activity to raise the standard of conduct and public behavior, have placed the struggle against vestiges of old ideologies and psychologies, backward customs, and religious prejudices more firmly at the center of their attention. For example, the youth organizations of Kukes, Lezhe, and Shkoder districts have started extensive ideological discussions and debates with the masses of young people about scientific atheist education, and about intensifying ideological and cultural work, especially in the countryside. These ideological discussions have been accompanied by cultural and artistic activities ridiculing and satirizing such vestiges and influences in the bosom of the people, especially among the ranks of young people. The Mat and Librazhd youth organizations, through the ideological mass action and the activity of cultural brigades, have put many problems of young people's conduct and behavior on the road toward a solution, thus overcoming hankerings after ideological conservatism.

A more serious and systematic commitment is demanded from youth organizations in large towns, in which a certain tendency to discount the danger of vestiges of old ideologies is noticeable. There exists among the ranks of some organizers of youth activities the idea that "Vestiges of old ideologies have been overcome in the towns, and they can be found mainly in the countryside, especially in remote regions." This idea is erroneous and very harmful. Such a tendency to underestimate these things accounts for the fact that even in some towns with a high cultural level, such as Tirana, Korce, and Gjirokaster, a kind of revival of some conservative ideological influences, religious superstitions, and backward customs has been noticeable in recent years. [passage omitted]

### New Ambassador Appointed to France

*AU2510200288 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] By decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ksenofon Nushi is appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the French Republic, replacing Comrade Maxhun Peka, who is appointed to another duty.

### Zhivkov, Macedonia's Gogovski Discuss Cooperation

*AU2710163288 Sofia BTA in English 1448 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Sofia, October 27 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of Bulgaria's State Council, today received Mr Gligorie Gogovski, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. They held a wide-ranging exchange of views on all important matters of cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in the context of the overall promotion of relations between Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It was pointed out that the last few years have witnessed an increasing number of positive developments and an activation of political, economic and cultural contacts. This promotion, as well as the constructive changes in the situation in Europe and the Balkans, create favourable conditions for the large-scale progress of the interaction of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, as well as with the other constituent republics of Yugoslavia. Conditions are available for the bold introduction of new forms and approaches in economic relations: joint investment, coordination of the investment plans, signing of long-term agreements on joint production and trade.

The sides briefed each other on the vigorous processes of political and economic restructuring, which are carried out in socialist construction in both countries. Emphasis was laid on the usefulness of the exchange of experience and on the importance of those processes for the advancement of modern socialism, for the strengthening of its prestige and role in the world, for a further assertion of the emerging U-turn in international relations from confrontation to mutually advantageous cooperation among countries of different social systems.

The meeting was attended by Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations.

### Mladenov Continues Visit to Belgium

#### Makes Toast at Dinner

*AU2710175688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Oct 88 p 5*

[Toast proposed by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, at official dinner given in his honor by Leo Tindemans, minister of external relations, on 25 October in Brussels]

[Text] Petur Mladenov expressed his gratitude for the cordial hospitality and the good atmosphere, which is propitious to an open and constructive dialogue. He dwelled on the positive traditional relations which have existed between the two countries since the end of the last century and on the favorable basis created by these traditions.

The Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs further pointed out that Bulgarian -Belgian relations are not developing in a vaccuum. A close connection exists between these bilateral relations and the general political atmosphere all over the world and in Europe. It is precisely from this point of view that I regard the future of these relations as promising, Petur Mladenov stated. The signing of a treaty between the USSR and the United States, which frees Europe from intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, eloquently demonstrates the opportunities for common sense and political realism. We hope that this treaty is only an initial step in the process of real disarmament.

Along with detente in the military and political spheres, it is necessary today to expand cooperation in the economic, social, humanitarian, and cultural spheres, as well as in other sectors. We are consistently working for this within the framework of the all-European process. We are sincerely striving for the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting, so that it may end with specific, positive results, such as the adoption of a meaningful and well-balanced document, Petur Mladenov stressed. He expressed confidence that real disarmament and mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres represent a basic foundation which, along with joint efforts, will enable us to build our common European home. We are convinced that the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC and between Bulgaria and the EEC is a positive initial step toward expanding more extensive economic cooperation that will substantially contribute to consolidating an atmosphere of confidence in Europe, the leader of the Bulgarian diplomacy emphasized in his toast.

He also spoke about the contribution made by the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the consolidation of peace, security, and cooperation in the Balkans.

#### Meets Prime Minister

*AU2610194188 Sofia BTA in English 1849 GMT 26 Oct 88*

["P. Mladenov Ends Visit to Belgium"—BTA headline]

[Text] Brussels, October 26 (BTA)—During the second day of the official visit to Belgium of Bulgaria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Petur Mladenov, he was received by Mr Wilfried Martens, prime minister of Belgium.

They discussed the opportunities for broadening of the Bulgaro-Belgian economic relations. Mr Petur Mladenov extended an invitation to Belgium's prime minister to visit Bulgaria. Mr Wilfried Martens accepted the invitation and said that he will visit Bulgaria with pleasure at a convenient time.

The prospects for the development of our relations are good at present, pointed out later Mr Wilfried Martens before Bulgarian journalists. The economic reforms under way in your country and the planned changes in legislation provide favourable possibilities before the mutually advantageous cooperation. When the Belgian economic delegation which is now in Bulgaria comes back I will get informed about the visit and I intend to propose for the necessary measures to be taken to increase Belgian investments in your country, he added.

Mr Petur Mladenov met with Mr Frank Swaelen, president of the Senate in the Belgian Parliament. They expressed the mutual wish to develop Bulgaro-Belgian parliamentary relations. It was stressed that the expansion of business cooperation through the exchange of experience on the work of the commissions of the two parliaments and the more frequent contacts between the commissions would create better conditions for strengthening of the Bulgaro-Belgian parliamentary dialogue.

### Mladenov Departs for Budapest Pact Summit

*AU2710185388 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Oct 88*

[Text] Today Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov departed for Budapest, where he will take part in the regular meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member Countries.

### UK Delegation 'Impressed' With Progress

*AU2510191888 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—The visiting delegation of the UK House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee today conferred with Mr Petur Tanchev, first vice president of Bulgaria's State Council.

The delegation is led by Mr Michael Jopling MP (Conservative) and includes Mr Peter Temple-Morris MP (Conservative) and Mr Michael Welsh MP (Labour).

Responding to the interest shown by the guests, Mr Petur Tanchev analysed the progress of restructuring in this country, the achievements and the problems in the implementation of political and economic reforms.

It was emphasized that the qualitative changes in Bulgaria's socioeconomic life open up new opportunities for a further promotion of cooperation with other countries, Britain included, and for better interparliamentary contacts.

Meeting the press this evening, the British MP's declared themselves in favour of East-West understanding. They said they were pleased with the talks they had had in this country, which had given them a clearer idea of the scope of the reforms under way in Bulgaria. The guests had been impressed by the progress in all spheres of life and by the ambitious plans for the country's future. They believe there are great opportunities for more active British-Bulgarian cooperation.

Mr Michael Jopling assessed in positive terms the recent development of international relations. He supported the Soviet-American INF Treaty and called for a superpower agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, for a chemical weapons ban, for progress in conventional disarmament and for cuts in military spending.

The British parliamentarians believe that the contacts between ordinary people from the East and the West are just as important as the summit meetings.

The guests will leave the country tomorrow.

### Latest Figures on AIDS Announced

*AU2710201988 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 26 Oct 88 p 2*

[Rumyana Strugarova report: "The Rights of Patients and the Protection of Society"]

[Text] Academician Atanas Maleev made an announcement on the situation of AIDS in our country over the period from 21 September to 18 October 1988 [dates as published] at yesterday's meeting of the Programmatic Council on AIDS Problems. According to this announcement, 82,227 screenings were conducted within the period under review, 2,381 of which were made for dry plasma banks. In the case of seven foreign students the tests showed positive results, but in accordance with the currently valid law, they have already left the country. Among the Bulgarian citizens who were screened, the test on one pregnant woman proved positive. Unfortunately, she had submitted to the test in a state of advanced pregnancy which made it impossible to use any preventive measures. One of the healthy virus carriers—a 39-year old man—died within the period under review.

A mass screening of the entire population was recently conducted in the former Burgas Okrug, where the majority of virus carriers live. Fortunately, it turned out that not even one virus carrier was found from among the total number of 51,369 people who were tested. Nevertheless, unresolved problems continue to exist in connection with the social adaptation and labor activities of healthy virus carriers. Some of these people have been living in abnormal social circumstances for several years.

As a matter of fact, there is no universally valid solution for this problem, and this applies to numerous countries. The members of the U.S. medical association have adopted a decision on not observing the principle of medical confidentiality in the case of AIDS patients. This means that, if a physician is unable to convince his patient to warn his partners about his disease, the doctor himself is entitled to do so. In this connection, the

Supreme Court in California issued the following opinion: "The privilege of the individual to enjoy the protection of the law ends where the danger for the whole of society begins."

At its last congress, WHO issued an appeal to declare 1 December as the International Day of Struggle Against AIDS.

## Tsanov Views Agricultural Problems

**[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Oct]**

*AU2210175088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Oct 88 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, by Tsocho Shatrov, representative of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO Editorial Board: "Unity of Interest of the Individual and Society"—date and place not given]

[Text] The wide response of our public to Comrade Todor Zhivkov's memorandum submitted to the BCP Central Committee Politburo under the title: "The Further Practical Implementation of the July Agricultural Restructuring" demonstrates that the problems and the fate of our rural areas affect every Bulgarian citizen. The memorandum, which distinguished itself by strong arguments and detailed analysis, serves as a reliable basis for nationwide debates because it contains all the necessary elements for an open discussion—a critical evaluation of experience, confidence in current changes, and promotion of individual interests, as well as protection of public interests.

Hundreds of letters were sent to our editorial boards and dozens of people telephoned us. We printed part of them, and more of them are about to be published. The letters express concern and even alarm about the fate of our agriculture, and about the future of Bulgarian villages. Quite frequently opinions differ, doubts creep in, and questions are raised. This is why Tsocho Shatrov, a representative of our editorial board, asked Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, for an interview.

[Shatrov] Can you explain what made it necessary, 10 months after the adoption of the respective BCP Central Committee Politburo decisions and the publication of Decree No. 58 issued by the Council of Ministers, to submit with even greater urgency, the problems of agriculture to nationwide discussion?

[Tsanov] The aforementioned memorandum provides a sufficiently clear answer to this question. The fact that the problem of agriculture was once more submitted to discussion is connected with the restructuring process, which in certain respects is encountering considerable difficulties. These difficulties are holding up the progress of restructuring and preventing this process from fully revealing its initial potential. Regardless of the positive results achieved in our economic sector at the beginning of 1988, the solution to numerous problems in our socioeconomic development is still proceeding rather slowly. There are several reasons for this. We have created a comprehensive system of self-managing organs and organizations, but we have failed to create an integrated system of economic regulators and methods likely to assist the collectives in further developing the self-management system. The subjective factor, as well, is slow in restructuring.

I am stressing these problems because, at the present stage of development, they cause difficulties in the progress of agriculture. Despite all this, prerequisites exist in the agricultural branch which make it possible to initiate a thorough change. It would be unforgivable if we did not take advantage of this opportunity and failed to accomplish a vitally important step forward for the implementation of the new model of agriculture mapped out by the July Plenum Concept.

[Shatrov] Is there any reason to believe that it is possible to make a breakthrough in agriculture, of all places, considering the numerous problems existing in this field?

[Tsanov] It is true that we have had to face numerous difficulties in the agricultural sector over the last 4-5 years. These difficulties had both subjective and objective causes. Nevertheless, the hitherto achieved successes due to the application of the piecework system as a basic form of organization, management, and labor remuneration in agriculture justify the hope that a breakthrough is really feasible. The first results of the aforementioned system unequivocally demonstrated the great opportunities of this method in overcoming numerous, negative trends which have emerged in the agricultural sphere in recent years.

[Shatrov] One of the questions which greatly worries managers and specialists in the agricultural branch, and has even caused a certain amount of confusion, pertains to the fate, role, place, and functions of agro-industrial complexes and brigades. Readers' letters to our editorial board on the subject contained contradictory questions, interpretations, opinions, and stands in this respect.

[Tsanov] The complexity of this problem is susceptible to contradictory interpretations. Nevertheless, the existence and consolidation of brigades has never been questioned.

However, we must firmly point out that we do not intend to eliminate the brigades, but to build them up as basic socioeconomic units on the territories of inhabited settlements and townships, and entrust them with new functions. The most characteristic feature of the memorandum is that it does not restrict, but provides vast opportunities for the expansion and consolidation of all vital forms of agricultural activities in accordance with specific conditions. The most important thing that should be clearly understood is, the fact that both within

the brigades and the agro-industrial complexes, everything should be organized according to the piecework principle and according to a mechanism which punishes the bad manager and encourages the good one, otherwise we will again begin to hide behind various subjective and objective excuses. The task is to free the agro-industrial complexes and brigades from red tape and bureaucratic methods, and transform them into living organisms likely to create the best circumstances for organizing and consolidating the new agents in charge of management.

Here I would like to add something else. It is significant that some of the agricultural managers and specialists have adopted a wait and see attitude. They are standing aside, expecting everything to be decided by instructions from above. Instead of doing so, they should take the initiative, become organizers of new forms of work, and strive to further fulfill themselves in the operation of these new forms.

[Shatrov] The memorandum unmistakably points out the basic principles and describes the agents in charge of management who should be entrusted with the land and the basic production means. How will this task be accomplished in practice?

[Tsanov] From this point of view the question has two aspects: The first aspect pertains to the consolidation of new management agents—the individual agricultural worker, his family, and the production collective. They should be developed and consolidated within the brigade and outside of it.

The second aspect of the question pertains to the transfer of the land and of other installations of socialist property for management. This will be accomplished by the municipalities, agro-industrial complexes, and brigades, under the strictest observance of the interests of commodity producers and in observing this coordination with public interests. Nevertheless, it is necessary, for this reason, that the agro-industrial complexes and brigades restructure their formerly bureaucratic-administrative organization and become economic formations for merging the interests of the agents who are in charge of managing the land and producing agricultural goods.

[Shatrov] It is evident that, in order to guarantee the practical implementation of the July Concept in restructuring agriculture, managers and specialists will be assigned a central role. Will their functions, rights, and responsibilities undergo a change?

[Tsanov] We already mentioned those leaders who have adopted a "wait and see" attitude and are expecting instructions form "above." The collectives should promptly get rid of such managers. They are not useful, and especially in the present restructuring process, they may even cause damage. We are now talking about a different type of agricultural leader, the chairman of an agro-industrial complex or brigade who has brought together an efficient crew of competent and energetic specialists, working according to the piecework system. The leader should be elected. He will be responsible to the collective, but he should simultaneously protect the public and state interests. For this reason he will be granted appropriate legal guarantees which will protect him against the whims and moods of certain groups of people. In addition to this, the question of the direct involvement of specialists and managers in collectives, working according to the piecework system, is emerging with particular emphasis in this respect. This is urgently required, since the managers and specialists should become the basic promoters of applying new technologies in connection with the organization of production according to piecework methods. Nevertheless, the newly emerging problems cannot be solved by merely restructuring leading cadres and specialists. The agricultural sector requires manpower of a new quality, people who are settled in the villages on a permanent basis, while the villages should be provided with the necessary social and everyday life conditions.

[Shatrov] Numerous questions are emerging about the methods of providing the individual, family, or group form of management with the necessary technical equipment, fertilizers, plant protection agents, and other production means.

[Tsanov] In the past the rural areas used to be manpower sources for the development of mining, of metallurgical and machine building industry . . . It is high time to reverse this situation. Our agricultural equipment industry today owes something to the villages. Unfortunately however, although this is being admitted, measures are being adopted, and programs mapped out, even exhibitions and fairs are showing models and experiments, nothing specific has so far been accomplished in this respect.

Everyone should be clearly aware of the fact that new forms of organization require a new material base. As for the total solution of this problem, all other branches, such as the machine building industry, biochemical industry, trade organizations, banks, building enterprises, transport organizations, and others should manifest a great sense of responsibility toward the needs of agriculture.

[Shatrov] Comrade Tsanov, we have observed numerous solutions on the development of agriculture; however, contradictions have emerged in connection with their implementation. Can we expect the decisions of the forthcoming BCP Central Committee plenum to be fully implemented in practice?

[Tsanov] The truth is that we adopted numerous solutions for the development of this branch. Nevertheless, we should frankly admit that many of them were not fully implemented for various reasons. Along with shortcomings due to subjective factors, which were allowed to

occur in the organization of production and in connection with the application of new technical and technological solutions, an important reason of failure was the absence of necessary, comprehensive prerequisites for the solution of agricultural problems.

The aforementioned memorandum evoked great interest, in particular, because it views the most topical problems of agricultural from a new point of view. Ways of solving these problems are pointed out in the memorandum. The tasks of the other branches and of our entire national economic complex are clearly defined as well.

The forthcoming BCP Central Committee plenum will sum up the proposals submitted on the subject and adopt appropriate decisions. This, however, will not be the end, but the beginning of the most important task upon which the implementation of the decisions adopted at the plenum will depend. Following the plenum, we will prepare and adopt respective laws, normative documents, and instructions. The legal settlement of the new postulates and decisions will be ensured, and many unresolved problems that worry us today will be dealt with. The implementation of the new tasks will depend, to a great extent, upon the successful restructuring of work within the party committees of the economic organs and organizations, and upon their ability to mobilize to the utmost all human resources.

## Intolerance Toward Crime, 'Evil,' Urged

*AU2710141588 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Oct 88 p 1*

[Editorial: "The Citizens' Peaceful Life, Property, and Honor Are Inviolable"]

[Excerpts] **Security and a peaceful life have always existed in Socialist Bulgaria. Every one of us has rejoiced and still rejoices in this fact, which has always favorably impressed our guests as well. This atmosphere is a result of our stable socioeconomic development, the people's improving living standard, and the humanitarian and democratic spirit prevailing in our society. It is an atmosphere based on our people's psychological and ethical nature, on their virtues and traditions, as well as on our people's common conviction that law and order, discipline, and legality are necessary requirements.**

Peaceful life and security are characteristic features of our everyday life. **It is for this reason that we are concerned about every encroachment upon social order, the socialist rule of law, and our moral standards.** Unfortunately, evidence of such alarming phenomena have recently become more and more frequent. Encroachments upon the honor and peaceful life of our citizens and violations of social and private property are repeatedly committed. On the one hand, we can witness acts committed with incredible impudence, aggressiveness, and cruelty. On the other hand, we can observe a lenient passive attitude toward all those who violate public order and commit acts that are incompatible with our principles, ethics, and ideals in our everyday lives.

I would like to point out at once that the violations in question are not prompted by political motivations. We are confronted with hooliganism in the literal sense of thes word, with acts committed by people deprived of conscience and morality, who in the majority of cases are marked by criminal, sometimes even pathological, inclinations. Such people have a dangerously disruptive effect on our social life and distract attention from the immediate tasks of our working and daily life.

We are alarmed by the fact that the number of robberies in private homes has increased over the last 9 months of 1988. [passage omitted]

Despite the fact that compared with other socialist and nonsocialist countries, criminal acts are not as widespread in our country, the situation still causes concern. [passage omitted]

**Yes, everyone should be aware of the fact that the peaceful existence and the property and honor of our citizens are inviolable. No compromise whatsoever should be tolerated in this respect. A struggle should be waged against such acts, whoever may have committed them. Our society is sufficiently strong to cope with this evil which certain people carry in themselves, or try to implant in our country.**

However, the struggle against rude and uncivilized behavior, against acts of violence, requires the efforts of every individual citizen and our entire people.

**Our society as a whole, the territorial communities, and the labor collectives are urged to prevent this evil, to stop the criminal before he has caused irreparable damage.** [passage omitted]

It is particulary important to overcome personal and social indifference to negative phenomena. [passage omitted] **Whenever the individual's interests, honor, property, and life are involved, no one should pretend that he is particularly broad-minded and democratic, or even very busy, and even less be allowed to remain indifferent.**

The people, for example, are concerned about the fact that **the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Courts of Justice,** which are in charge of protecting society and the individual citizen sometimes adopt a passive attitude, frequently manifest liberalism and tolerance, and fail to take full advantage of their great rights and responsibilities, and that in observing the law do not oppose energetic, firm, and uncompromising resistance to antisocial manifestations and to those who commit violations of all kinds directed against the individual citizen. **The aforementioned**

**organs are expected to expand their relations and cooperation with local, party, state, economic and social organizations, and leaderships and, by applying updated technical, and other means, to ensure reliable protection for private homes, buildings, motor vehicles, and other citizens' properties, as well as to contribute actively to systematic control in apartment houses, residential districts, and villages, particularly at night and in areas exposed to danger. The aforementioned organs should also provide for the equipment of these apartment houses and residential areas with garages and protected parking places.**

No spirit of compromise and pusillanimity should be tolerated in this respect. Our laws are sufficiently humane, but also strict at the same time, and they should be fully directed against all those who violate them, regardless of their social status and official position.

It is also urgently necessary to apply strict criteria to all those who cause damage to the property of self-managing collectives, communities, organizations, and individuals by **holding them financially responsible** for their acts. Everyone should understand that democracy has nothing in common with irresponsibility, anarchy, and violation of law and order, that compromises in this respect can only obstruct our progress.

**Society is also concerned about the poor standards of discipline in schools, and that the authority of school teachers and principals is deteriorating.** In many cases the teachers' collectives find themselves in a defensive position. Lacking sufficient support from parents, school boards, and public order organs, they are sometimes helpless in coping with manifestations of lack of discipline, unruly behavior, demonstrative violations of school regulations, instructions, and requirements in regard the wearing of school uniforms, and the observance of other rules, such as the ban on the use of alcohol and tobacco, and the students' disregard for civilized behavior in dealing with their comrades and with grown-ups, in particular. [passage omitted]

Society is entitled to impose greater requirements on the **family**, whose role in children's education is important and irreplaceable. [passage omitted].

The moral example of parents, and of party members and leading cadres in particular, as well as the intensified educational and legal instruction of the population assumes particular importance in this respect. **We should not forget, even for a moment, that the family is the source of all our hopes for the country's future—that the care for the education of worthy citizens of our socialist motherland is the chief prerequisite for this future.**

Our society is also concerned about the insufficiently **active position of party, sociopolitical, and economic organizations, of people's councils, townships, labor collectives, and mass media.** The work of **Komsomol organizations** and associations, for example, is still not free of formalism and passivity, and is slow in its reorientation toward the young people's interests and needs; it still lacks intolerance to antisocial manifestations, and has not produced any attractive ideas for useful recreation activities.

The **people's councils** as organs of the self-managing communities have not yet acquired sufficient confidence in exercising their important functions in connection with ensuring law and order, strict organization, and discipline, as well as in creating the most favorable social atmosphere. [passage omitted].

The **oblast, municipal, and other party committees, the primary party organizations, and the Communists** should create a favorable atmosphere for joint, systematic, and consistent activities. [passage omitted]. Everyone expects strict sanctions against violators and severe reaction against any attempts to acquit criminals, to intercede on their behalf, and to exert pressure upon the legal and police organs.

It is particularly important that **specialized scientific-research institutions** be engaged in research into the causes and conditions promoting the increase in the aforementioned crimes and acts of hooliganism, while the mass media should actively involve the public in the struggle against negative and antisocial acts, in unmasking violators in accordance with the severity of their crimes, and in exerting vigilance over printed publications and broadcast programs in which violence and criminal methods are demonstrated, and disobedience encouraged in one way or another.

**It is necessary to conduct a truly resolute and uncompromising struggle for the protection of public order, of the property, peaceful existence, honor, and lives of our citizens. This is a struggle for a healthy moral atmosphere and for strict discipline, for a peaceful life, and security—things which are required with particular urgency today while we are performing fundamental quality changes in our society. It is a struggle for man and for the future, because without order, organization, discipline, and the supreme power of the law, there can be no prosperous development of society and the individual—there can be** no true democracy.

## Crackdown on Opposition on Eve of National Day

*AU2710130788 Paris AFP in English*
*1302 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Prague, Oct 27 (AFP)—Police arrested at least 12 opposition figures Thursday in a crackdown on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the founding of Czechoslovakia, opposition sources said.

Police conducted a thorough search of the apartment of Charter 77 leaders Vaclav and Ivan Havel and in the residences of several other prominent opposition leaders in various parts of the country, the sources said.

At least 12 members of Charter 77, a human rights group, and another opposition group, the Independent Pacifist Association, were arrested in the countrywide raids, the sources added.

Among those arrested were journalists Jiri Dienstbier and Jiri Ruml, the Czech writer Zdenek Urbanek and Charter 77 spokesman Stanislav Devaty.

The sources said that a number of other opposition leaders could not be contacted during the day and may also have been arrested.

## Husak Makes Amnesty Declaration on Anniversary

*LD2710185688 Prague CTK in English*
*1805 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Prague Oct 27 (CTK)—An amnesty was declared by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak today on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Czechoslovak state and the 20th anniversary of the federative set-up.

It applies to sentences of up to two years' imprisonment for misdemeanour or premeditated criminal acts and up to three years' imprisonment for criminal acts resulting from negligence.

The amnesty also applies to sentences of imprisonment passed for the criminal act of leaving the Republic.

Other non-probational sentences will be reduced by the equivalent of up to two years' imprisonment.

This decision does not concern the criminal act of leaving the Republic if its perpetrator showed or shows hostile relation to the socialist social or state system, to the criminal acts of speculation, embezzlement of socialist property, acts against foreign currency regulations, bribes, robberies and thefts, desertion to a foreign country, murders and other criminal acts punishable with the death sentence.

This amnesty does not apply to persons who, in addition to crimes covered by this amnesty, received in the 10 years prior to the date of the declaration of this amnesty nonsuspended prison sentences which acquired the force of law for a deliberate crime. The amnesty also fails to apply to those who have been excused from serving the prison sentence in the past 10 years for such a crime unless they have been deemed not to have been convicted.

The amnesty does not apply to the crime of leaving the Republic according to Paragraph 109 of the Penal Code if the perpetrator has shown or shows a hostile attitude toward the socialist social or state system; it does not apply to crimes of speculation under paragraph 117; of theft of socialist property under Paragraph 132, Sections 2, 3 and 4; of voilating foreign currency regulations under Paragraph 146; of receiving bribes under Paragraph 160; of offering bribes under Paragraph 161; of indirect bribery under Paragraph 162; of robbery under Paragraph 234; of theft under Paragraph 247, section 2; of deserting to a foreign country under Paragraph 283; or of murder under Paragraph 219 of the Penal Code. It does not apply to other crimes punishable by law with the death sentence.

The amnesty does not apply to aggregate and cumulative sentences [tresty uhrnne a souhrnne] if one or more of the totality of the crimes falls under the categories designated above.

The provisions of the first part of this amnesty decision do not apply to nonsuspended aggregate and cumulative prison sentences of more than 2 years imposed for a crime attributable to negligence committed together with a deliberate crime for which the law stipulates a prison sentence of more than 2 years. They do not apply either to nonsuspended aggregate and cumulative prison sentences imposed for the crime of leaving the Republic under Paragraph 109, Sections 1 and 2 of the Penal Code, committed together with a deliberate crime for which the law stipulates a prison sentence of more than 2 years or committed in conjunction with a crime attributable to negligence for which the law stipulates a prison sentence of more than 3 years.

The president has instructed the justice ministers of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics and the defense minister to carry out a review and submit proposals for him to decide on the pardon or reduction of sentences imposed for crimes and misdemeanors committed before the declaration of this amnesty in the case of persons to whom this amnesty does not otherwise apply but who are: pregnant; mothers with two or more children under the age of 15 years in their care; men over the age of 60 years; women over the age of 55 years; permanently disabled, or suffering from an incurable disease.

The above provisions are contained in the amnesty declared by the president.

### Radio Details Amnesty Decree

*LD2710213688 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Based on a proposal by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Presidium of the National Front Central Committee, and the Czechoslovak Government, the president has declared an amnesty according to constitutional law.

Nonsuspended sentences of imprisonment or the remainder of such sentences imposed for a misdemeanor or a deliberate crime up to a maximum of 2 years are pardoned. Nonsuspended sentences of imprisonment or the remainder of such sentences imposed for a crime attributable to negligence up to a maximum of 3 years are pardoned.

Nonsuspended sentences of imprisonment or the remainder of such sentences imposed for the crime of leaving the Republic according to Paragraph 109, Sections 1 and 2 of the Penal Code, are pardoned.

For other nonsuspended sentences of imprisonment, 2 years of the sentence, or the remainder of the sentence if less than 2 years, are pardoned.

The amnesty pardons those with suspended sentences of imprisonment even if the sentences were subsequently ordered to be served, correctional training sentences, and suspended sentences which have been converted to prison sentences, or the remainder of such sentences in cases where they were legally imposed before the date of the amnesty and have not yet been served.

The above pardons or reductions of sentence apply to the same extent where such sentences have not yet acquired the force of law and were declared before the date of this amnesty, and where the total abandonment of criminal proceedings is not envisioned. Where an appeal has resulted in an alteration of the sentence, the sentence to which this amnesty applies is the one which acquires the force of law.

The nonsuspended imprisonment sentences or the remainder of such sentences have been pardoned by the president in respect to convicts who are serving or are due to serve their sentences in the first correctional training group, in a military correctional institution, or in a correctional training institution for juveniles.

Deferred suspended sentences of imprisonment and sentences of correctional measures which have been imposed separately are pardoned in the sense that the perpetrator will be deemed not to have been convicted, effective today.

The amnesty decrees that criminal proceedings should not be initiated or, if they have been initiated, that they be halted: for the crime of leaving the Republic under Paragraph 109, Sections 1 and 2 of the Penal Code, when the crime was committed before the date of this amnesty; for misdemeanors and other deliberate crimes committed before the date of this amnesty where the law stipulates for such crimes a prison sentence of no more than 2 years; for crimes attributable to negligence committed before the date of this amnesty where the law stipulates for such crime a prison sentence of no more than 3 years.

If these provisions cannot be applied to the totality of criminal activity on which a sentence has been pronounced but has not acquired the force of law, and where the sentence was pronounced before the date of this amnesty, these provisions cannot be applied even in part.

### Husak Traces CSSR Experience in Rally Speech

*LD2710210688 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1233 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Speech by President Gustav Husak at a joint meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee, the National Front Central Committee Presidium, the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium, and the CSSR Government, held in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle, marking the 70th anniversary of the founding of the independent Czechoslovak Republic—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, esteemed guests, we are currently recalling the 70th anniversary of the birth of the Czechoslovak SR. Its promulgation on 28 October 1918 in Prague, and the adoption of the declaration of the Slovak people in Martin, on 30 October, have entered the modern history of the Czechs and the Slovaks as a decisive milestone, the beginning of a new stage in the life of our peoples. This fulfilled the hundreds-year-long strivings and hopes of the Czech and Slovak patriots for national freedom. The struggle of our peoples to set up an independent Czechoslovak state culminated. Our people united their fates and set out along a joint path.

Twenty-eight October 1918 has become deeply anchored in the memory of our peoples as a symbol of Czechoslovak statehood and the connection of the fates of our two fraternal peoples. Justifiably, this date has become the Czecholovak National Day. We are realizing yet again on the occasion of this nanniversary our belonging to our homeland, our link with all the generations, which by their creative search and dedicated heroic struggle, fought for the idea of national and social liberation and a joint state of the Czech and the Slovak people. Let us realize our responsibility for the further development of the great progressive heritage of the history of our people. The 70th anniversary of the republic is an opportunity to also give a thought to the historical contribution of the Czechoslovak state, [words indistinct] its strengths and guarantees of its firmness. A truthful analysis of the 70-year experience, a realistic view of the results achieved, as well as of the mistakes

and tragedies along the path, help us to seek and find new solutions to our political, economic, national, cultural, and other social problems.

Comrades, the birth of the Czechoslovak state was the culmination of the long years of struggle of the Czech and Slovak people for national liberation and state independence against national and social oppression (?during the Habsburg) monarchy. After unleasing World War I, the contradictions in the Habsburg Monarchy escalated. The popular masses of Austria and Hungary, both at the front and in the rear, yearned to end the semifeudal yoke, the difficult living conditions, and sought new solutions for their national and social fates. Under the influence of the revolutionary events in Russia, above all after the Great October Socialist Revolution, came a powerful wave of struggle of the peoples, a struggle for the rights of people and the working people. Throughout the country, mass demonstrations and workers' strikes erupted. The movement for [word indistinct], peace, democracy, and freedom of the peoples was strengthening. The antiwar and anti-imperialist struggle of the broad popular masses above all workers; the struggle of the oppressed people for self-determination; the ideological and political influence of the victorious proletarian revolution in Russian; the military defeats of Germany, Austria, Poland; economic exhaustion of the fighting parties—all this was fundamentally undermining the pillars of the Habsburg Monarchy.

There was a fruition of the decisive prerequisites to carry out profound social and political transformations in Central Europe, including the conditions for the birth of an independent Czechoslovak state. The revolutionary development, threatening the stability of capitalism, also made the powers opposed to the Austro-Hungarian Empire change their reserved attitude toward the efforts of small nations of central and southeast Europe to destroy the monarchy and set up independent nation states. A significant role was played by the political and diplomatic activity of the representatives of our foreign resistance movement: Tomas Garrique Masaryk, Eduard Benes, and Milan Rastislav Stefanik. Above all, T.G. Masaryk influenced the character of the newly emerging state. He was at the head of foreign resistance, and he gained considerable authority abroad, as well as at home. He was elected the first president of the Republic. Tens of thousands of Czechs and Slovaks fought for national freedom: in France, Italy, Serbia, and Russia they entered the Czechoslovak foreign military units—legions. A considerable number of the Czechoslovak Legion members in Russia, however, was dragged into the anti-Soviet intervention by the bourgeois forces of foreign resistance. Help and support was granted to set up the Republic by organizations of our compatiots abroad. They contributed to the Czech and the Slovak issue permeating the subconscious of the world's masses.

Ater the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of October 1918, the map of Europe changed considerably. Czechs and Slovaks started to build a common state after the years-long struggle for cultural, social, and political emancipation. The last 70 years confirmed the correctness and wisdom of this historical decision. The foundation of the independent Czechoslovak state was an inevitable prerequisite for the preservation and development of their national life. German and Hungarian nationalistic suppression ended. A new base was created for the life of Czechs and Slovaks and for their further political, economic, cultural, and civil advancement. New conditions were created for the further struggle of the working class, of all working people, and for social justice. The Czechoslovak Republic was one of the advanced European bourgeois democracies.

The radicalization of the popular masses at the end of the war and in the first years of the new state elicitated greater social and democratic rights, such as an 8-hour work day, partial land reform, and so on. All in all, however, the class bourgeois character of the political system of the new state determined its social conditions. The contradiction between capital and the law, between the exploiting and the exploited class, was becoming deeper. The sociopolitical changes that were carried out in the time of the growth of the revolutionary wave, sometimes even under a socialist slogan, were gradually limited.

The social, political, and nationalistic controversies had a significant influence on the development of the working class and its political orientation. As a result of social and class conflicts, the working class movement gradually lost illusions about the state being just, and about the willingness of the governing circles to solve consistently the social and other demands of the working people. It started to divide itself. In 1921 this led to the creation of a revolutionary party—the CPCZ—which rejected the policy of class cooperation with the bourgeois parties, and became the head of the fight against capital, and for a socially and nationalistically just and truly humane society.

Comrades, in 20 years the bourgeois governing circles were unable to solve any of the fundamental issues of the life of our people. They did not solve the social issue. A sharp class division of society was typical for the Republic. The growth of wealth on one hand, and exploitation, poverty, and unemployment on the other led to continuous social conflicts and tension. Working people were faced with a real existential catastrophe through continuous economic and social shocks, which were manifested most dramatically during the world economic crisis in the thirties. During the crisis, Czechoslovak industrial produciton fell by 40 percent. Almost a million working people lost their jobs. There was a sharp decline of earnings. At the same time there were thousands of bankrupcies. Their were declines of farms and artisans' and tradesmens' shops. The intelligentisia was also afflicted by the crisis. Many families suffered hunger and poverty. The bourgeois state power responded to demonstrations and strikes by people demanding work and

bread with reprisals, and did not hesitate to shoot innocent people. This was the real face of bourgeois democracy in the pre-Munich Republic.

The bourgeois leadership was also unable to deal with the nationalities issue. On the basis of the fictitious idea of a united Czechoslovak nation, it disputed the individuality of the Slovak nation; it was unable to safeguard the equal status of Czechs and Slovaks and a full advancement of the minority nationalities of Czechoslovakia. This, however, helped forces that stimulated nationalism and chauvinism, evoked disagreements between nationalities [words indistinct], violated internal stability and unity of the state, and undermined its international [word indistinct].

The governing bourgeosie could not safeguard the international security of the Republic. The bias of the Western powers, as demonstrated by the tragic events of 1938-39, did not secure ourt state's existence. After concluding the French-Soviet Treaty, the Czechoslovak government concluded an agreement with the USSR, but its stipulations on military aid to Czechoslovakia were conditioned by the fulfillment of alliance obligations by France. The beginning of Hitlerite Nazism in Germany spelled the considerable worsening of the international situation and the foreign political position of the Czechoslovak Republic. Hitler did not conceal his intention to forcibly expand the living space, as he called it, of his great German Empire, and our republic became one of the first aims of his aggression. That is why the Nazis unleashed their hateful campaign against Czechoslovakia. Under the influence of Hitler's fifth column in Czechoslovakia—the Henlein Sudeten German Party—the majority of the German population of the republic fell under its power.

The acute threat to the Czechoslovak state caused a broad popular movement for its defense, and against fascism and [word indistinct]. The CPCZ, under the leadership of Klement Gottwald, organized the formation of a popular antifascist front. It demanded a resolute government policy against reaction and for the defense of the republic. This struggle was joined by the progressive and democratic components of society. It was thanks to them that the Czechoslovak Republic remained during those years a democratic republic. It granted refuge to thousands of democrats, communists, socialist democrats, Jews, and other people persecuted by fascism.

The Western powers, above all France and England, exerted in this crisis situation a consistent pressure on the Czechoslovak Government, trying to make it subjugate to Hitler's territorial demands. This treason of lawful democracies, together with the capitulatory policy of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, the president, and the government, led to the tragedy of the Czechoslovak state. Only the USSR was willing to help Czechoslovakia. The ignominous 1938 Munich Agreement and destruction of the Czechoslovak state in 1939 were the result of this policy of the Allies and the Czechoslovak government, which, despite the dedication of the people, who were ready to defend the Republic, subjected itself to the ultimatum requirements of the French and British allies, and conceded the border regions to Nazi Germany. It also conceded to the decision of the Vienna arbitration, on the basis of which the southern parts of Slovakia were occupied by Horthyite Hungary. Czechoslovakia [words indistinct] lost about 30 percent of the population, out of whom 1.5 million were Czechs and Slovaks.

With the forming of the so-called protectorate, Bohemia-Moravia, and with the help of Hitler and under his supervision, the setting up of the clerical fascist Slovak state, the most difficult period in the life of our peoples commenced. Comrades, this tragedy profoundly influenced the thinking of the Czechoslovak people and their trust in the policy of the bourgeoisie and [words indistinct]. Our people never came to terms with the destruction of the Republic, Munich, and the Nazi occupation. The years of the Second World War spelled both for home and the foreign front a persistent struggle for the renewal of the Czechoslovak state. The majority of Czechs and Slovaks realized ever more clearly the need to build a renewed Czechoslovakia on new foundations under the leadership of new political forces.

The foreign-based leadership of the CPCZ, headed by Klement Gottwald, devised a program for the struggle by all the people directed at overthrowing the fascist yoke, and the formation of a new republic, one that would be free of the mistakes and errors of the pre-Munich Czechoslovak Republic, one that would be a politically and socially just state of two equal nations of Czechs and Slovaks that would lean on the Soviet Union in its foreign policy. This program was then creatively evolved by the party's central leadership, including that in Slovakia. Under the influence of the heroic struggle and victorious drive by the Soviet Army during the Great Patriotic War, the antifascist resistance of the Czech and Slovak nation also grew. Tens of thousands of Czech and Slovak patriots fought bravely in both the domestic and foreign-based resistance movement. They rose, arms in hand, to restore the Czechoslovak Republic, both during the Slovak national uprising and in the May Rising of the Czech people. They fought heroically side by side with the Soviet Army, in the ranks of the Czechoslovak Army Corps in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Comrade Ludvik Svoboda, as well as on other fronts of World War II. They thus contributed to the great international struggle to hasten the defeat of fascist Germany and its alies, and to liberate Czechoslovakia.

We will never forget that it was the Soviet people and their glorious Red Army who were the decisive force which destroyed Hitlerite fascism and which brought freedom to Czechoslovakia and to other nations. We remind ourselves also of the contributions made by all other states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition to the joint victory. We remember with respect and profound gratitude those who fought in the domestic and foreign-based

resistance for the freedom of Czechoslovakia and those who were incarcerated in fascist jails and concentration camps, many of whom laid down that which is most precious, their lives, for a better future.

Comrades: After the liberation of Czechoslovakia on 9 May 1945, foundations were laid to meet the the national political and social aspirations of the working people, which were born on the broad basis of the National Front in the course of the antifascist struggle. After the liberation of a considerable section of Slovakia, the first Czechoslovak government on the liberated territory was formed in Kosice in April 1945, following an agreement between the representatives of the foreign-based and domestic resistance movement, both the London- and Moscow-based ones, which then declared its program. The Kosice government program contained basic tasks for the immediate political, social, economic, and cultural reforms. This created decisive internal and external prerequisites for profound revolutionary, people's democratic transformations in our homeland. The Kosice government program tackled relations between the Czech and Slovak nations in a new way—on the principle of equality. It based its foreign-political orientation unequivocally on a firm alliance with the Soviet Union. This was a program of building a society which, by its long-range outlook, opened up the road to socialism.

Millions of working people began selflessly and enthusiastically to implement the aims of the Kosice government program. They set up revolutionary national committees and formed united trade unions, and farmers, youth, and other organizations. They helped to form new state bodies and to restore the war-ravaged economy. Nationalization, which was declared on 28 October 1945, the day of the national holiday, was an important stage. Land reform, too, was carried out gradually. The struggle for the realization of the Kosice government program and the character of the future development of the people's democratic state was tied up in the 1945-48 period with the struggle between the progressive forces, led by the CPCZ, and those forces which tried to halt and reverse the revolutionary process. The different attitude to the program was further intensified after the elections of 1946, out of which the CPCZ emerged as the strongest political party. Klement Gottwald was appointed by President Benes, in accordance with constitutional custom, as the premier of the new government.

The clash which would determine the direction of the Czechoslovak Republic was to take, whether toward socialism, by deepening the people's democratic regime, or back to capitalism, by doing away with the gains of revolution, was ultimately decided by the Czechoslovak people in the historic 1948 February days. Thanks to the revolutionary advance of the CPCZ, which mobilized the broad strata of the working people, the working classes could ultimately take political power. This happened for the first time in a relatively advanced country with deep democratic traditions, while preserving constitutional customs. A peaceful victory.

Following the February victory, President Benes again appointed Klement Gottwald as premier. On a broad base of the revived National Front, popular, democratic, and progressive components of the Czech and Slovak people became firmly united.

The victory of the working people in February 1948, the 40th anniversary of which we recalled recently, is a significant historical milestone. It opened up the path toward building socialism in our country. It included Czechoslovakia in the community of the socialist countries. The broad social democratic base, on which the victory of the people in February 1948 was based, created favorable political points of departure for building a socialist society. Nationalization was completed, as was land reform; industrialization was under way. Socialist transformations took place in villages, as well as in spiritual and cultural life. This markedly transformed the life of the Czech and the Slovak people, and the nationalities living in the republic. Economic, social, and cultural standards of Slovakia increased considerably, as for other previously backward regions of our homeland. Fraternal relations between the Czechs and Slovaks strengthened; education, culture, health care, and other spheres developed. Gradually, a relatively high standard of living was achieved.

It is a great historical advantage of socialism that the position of the working class changes radically. The working class became the leading component of our society. Exploitation was eliminated forever. The previous class and social differences belong to the distant past; so do poverty, national injustice, and fears about social existence. Our country strengthened its cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries. It became an active member of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. The path along which we arrived could not have been straightforward. It could not have been accomplished without problems. The building of the new society was carried out in unfavorable international conditions, in the period of the cold war. Our effort was marked by insufficient experience, search, and mistakes, as well as socialism with foreign deformations.

Under the influence of the cult of personality, and because of infringements upon socialist democracy and legality connected with subjectivism, the principles and interests of socialism were deformed. Also of negative influence were the unresolved questions of mutual relations between the Czechs and the Slovaks. In a later period, these problems were acknowledged and tackled. Many of them, however, could not be solved. This led toward price increases [words indistinct]. The lack of readines of the then leadership of the party to come to terms with the problems accummulated in the fifties was joined in the early sixties by its overvaluing the achieved standards and plans for the further development of socialism. The demands and pressures to set up the basic economic, ideological, and cadre conditions to solve the problems were strengthening. Justified criticism of

shortcomings was growing. This was misused by rightwing forces, as well as those forces hostile to socialism, which began to attack socialism and its fundamental [word indistinct]. Various bourgeois and petit bourgeois views, nationalism, and anti-Sovietism, were spreading. The increasing tension soon grew into a crisis.

The party Central Committee discussed this situation at its sessions at the end of 1967. In January 1968 it created the possibility—by adopted resolutions—for removing obstacles on the further path of the construction of socialism. The party leadership of that time was, however, unable to make use of this possibility because of the lack of unity and of any political (?agreement). It was not able to direct and make use of the growing wave of public activity, which sprang from its efforts to overcome previous errors and shortcomings. It undervalued the danger of rightwing activity and the work of antisocialist forces. It permitted the violation of ideological and organizational unity of the party, weakening its ability to act and its leading role in the society. Under the slogan of democratization, room was made for paralyzing the work of the party and the socialist state, and for violation of our alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries. With the help of the media—in which the rightwing usurped leading positions—it succeeded in disorientating a considerable section of our (?population). The existence of socialism in our homeland was directly threatened. The international help of five socialist countries, motivated by concerns over the further destiny of socialism in Czechoslovakia, prevented the rightwing and antisocialist forces from completing their plan.

The Marxist-Leninist forces in the CPCZ and the other components of the National Front started a fight to lead the party and society out of the crisis, and to overcome its consequences. This effort was ever more linked with solving problems that accummulated in the past, and also new tasks. We still remember well the words of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the February gala session to mark the 40th anniversary of victorious February. I quote: Enormous effort had to be exerted to overcome the crisis and its consequences, and to lead our society to the path of further ascending socialist development, which was significantly laid out by 14th CPCZ Congress in 1971. We can rightly call this congress the congress of victory over right-wing, opportunist antisocialist forces, a congress of the invincible force of socialism which developed in a creative way (?for the) revolutionary bequest of February 1948.

In a relatively short time, and by using political means, the consolidation process in the party and society was completed and socialist values in our party were renewed.

Comrades, the 14th congress adopted a program of further development of our society, which was developed by earlier party congresses. The introduction of this program was harmonized with the objective intentions of the working people, the advancement of our state and its position in the socialist community and in the world, and it gave people guarantees and prospects. The era after the 14th CPCZ Congress was filled with selfless work, with persistent struggle by the party and the people to implement the programs aims. The results attained from the start of the seventies were assessed by the 17th CPCZ Congress, which noted improvement in all spheres of social, economic, and cultural life. At that time, despite unfavorable external conditions, which also influenced our advancement, our economic potential, the volume of industrial and agriculture output substantially advanced toward securing self-sufficiency in food. The balance of external economic relations was secured. On the basis of the growth of the national income, personal consumption increased. Significant steps were taken to improve pensions, while support for families with children and the system of social security for all categories of citizens was substantially developed. We also experienced difficulties and shortcomings in the development of our society linked to our failure to fully utilize the intensive factors of growth in the economy, especially in scientific-technical progress. The exhaustion of the possibilities for extensive growth was being demonstrated more and more strongly. The existing directive system of management and planning made it impossible to efficiently involve the people's initiative and the interest of labor collectives in the struggle for qualitative economic development, and for increased economic efficiency and productivity.

The 17th CPCZ Congress reacted to the pressing needs of our society, to the new conditions and trends of world development. It concluded that it was inevitable that we had to speed up the country's social and economic development and to carry out a restructuring of the economic mechanism. We must put into practice—vigorously, consistently, and comprehensively—this line set out by the 17th congress, which was developed further and solidified by the Central Committee, specifically at its 7th, 9th, and 10th sessions, in a program for restructuring and deepening the democratization of our society.

The program for the restructuring of our society is unprecedcented from the viewpoint of its extent and the depth of its changes and exactingness, since the victorious February of 1948. At stake is a step of great revolutionary significance concerning all areas of the life of our society, economy, political system, [word indistinct], our system of education and upbringing, and our cultural and intellectual life. It constitutes a realistic way of raising our socialist society to a qualitatively higher level, and of maintaining and consolidating Czechoslovakia's position among the industrially advanced countries. The possibility of further raising the living and cultural standards of our people, modernizing the economy, improving the living and working environment, tackling ecological issues, and meeting other requirements of our society will depend on this.

In carrying our restructuring we are proceeding from the internal needs and aims of our development. The experience of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, which are tackling similar problems and seeking new paths of development, have an indispensable importance for us. In our endeavor we are drawing on ideas and lessons from the creative course taken by the Soviet Communists. Our party Central Committee gave warm support to the conclusions adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which were a significant inspiration for our work. We are seeking ways to apply them in our own case.

A well-devised and comprehensively implemented restructuring of the economic mechanism, along with the deepening of socialist democracy, is of fundamental significance. Restructuring, which is now beginning to be carried out, constitutes a fundamental intervention into the mechanism and into management. We arrived at this conclusion from our experience that partial modifications in the system of planning and management—and there were quite a few—did not bring the necessary turn in our economic development. This is why the entire mechanism needs to be rebuilt, both in our country and other socialist countries.

The purpose of the restructuring of the economic mechanism is to effectively stimulate the growth of performance, the effectiveness of individual organizations, and the national economy; to create a climate in which progressive collectives are encouraged effectively, and pressure exerted on those lagging behind; to exert influence so as to ensure that production potential is utilized much more rationally and effectively; and to speed up the broad application of science and technology and the modernization of the manufacturing base. The reform is linked with the strengthening of the powers of enterprises and work collectives, but on the other hand they must be made accountable for the end results, the quality of products, and this must be coupled with the assertion of the principle of merit in remuneration. The period following the adoption of a number of organizational, legal, economic, and institutional measures is deemed to speed up the economic reform, and to create conditions that will enable the new economic mechanism to be applied fully from the start of the next 5-year plan.

One of today's important tasks is to cope with the complicated time of transfer from the (?old) management system to the full application of the new economic mechanism. The necessity of reinforcing the economic balance is connected with thus, as is the best possible implementation of the tasks of the last 2 years of the 5-year plan.

The restructuring of the economic mechanism will not on its own result in the improvement of efficiency or of economic independence. It must be linked with organizational and political work at all levels of management, in all sectors; it must overcome inertia linked to the extensive way of development; it must create a democratic atmosphere which stimulates initiative, creativity, and commitment of the peoples, as it was described in detail at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee Session.

The restructuring process is connected with the possibility of overcoming difficulties and obstacles, and sometimes also inevitable conflicts. All issues must be discussed openly with the working people; the aim and purpose of restructuring must be explained; there must be a striving for the necessary changes in thinking and attitudes so as to win people over to these goals.

It must be understood that restructuring is impossible without the full utilization of work time—the so-called trifles; of reinforcement of morality and husbandry; of just reward in keeping with the real results and quality of work. Better care for people and their needs depends on the resources created, to which everyone can contribute with their work. The most important force for the thorough implementation of the program of restructuring is people—their creative energy, their active initiative, their participation in socialist construction and in administration and management. Therefore, we put such emphasis on restructuring, on the deepening of democratization of social life, on having citizens well informed so that they understand any problems at their workplace, at their place of abode, and those arising in our national economy and society, so they can voice their views and then view their implementation deeply convinced of their correctness and importance, with the feeling of deep personal responsibility.

We deepen socialist democracy in the unity of both the application of rights and the execution of duties of citizens toward society. This influence is connected with removing disorders, displays of insensitivity, indifference, and with early and sensitive reactions to the comments of citizens on failures to observe socialist law.

A wide platform for the deepening of socialist democracy is the National Front, which creates a firm base for the political system in which the CPCZ has a recognized leading role. The reinforcement of the National Front's position in our overall political system is connected with the activities of all organizations affiliated in it and its [words indistinct] members. We want to see the National Front increase its role in the implementation and control of policy, and to take an active part in decisionmaking in the affairs of society.

National committees play an exceedingly important role in the process of deepening socialist democracy. Political and legal measures were adopted for their advancement. National committees must understand the interests of our citizens, their needs and views; and must consult them on the drafts of important measures and analyze in detail their comments on proposals.

Comrades, the Czechoslovak state strove from its very beginning for its international security. After the tragic experience of the bourgeois republic and its break-up, after the experience of the national liberation struggle, the Czechoslovak people called for an alliance with the Soviet Union.

A firm, friendly alliance, and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries corresponds to the vital interests of our peoples, and is the enduring basis of our state's foreign policy. We cooperate closely with these states in the political, cultural, and other spheres. Together with our friends and allies we are striving for more effective economic, scientific, and technical cooperation with the all-round development of socialist economic integration [words indistinct] we are taking part in the restructuring of the CEMA economic mechanism and its organs. We are striving to bring closer together the economic mechanisms of the different CEMA states in the interests of the further development of socialist economic integration. We take an active part in all the Warsaw Pact bodies, and we will continue to rely on this cooperation in the future. We fully support the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, as well as those of other countries which are working to avert the threat of nuclear war, to preserve peace, achieve disarmament, and to step up cooperation between all countries.

We intend to learn as much as possible about and apply the achievements of (?human knowledge) throughout the world, [word indistinct] (?the world), as they say. On this occasion we once again reaffirm our firm determination to develop political, economic, and cultural relations with all countries on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage. We are in favor of open and fruitful dialogue which strengthens trust and contributes to tackling the urgent problems of today's world.

Comrades and guests! The 70 years' existence of the Czechoslovak state is for us an invaluable source of experience and enlightenment and (?that is why) we often speak about this on such occasions. The viability and firmness of the unification of the Czechs and Slovaks in a common Czechoslovak state has been convincingly confirmed, and this (?showed) a marked development in the period of socialism in particular.

The Czechoslovak Federation, whose 20th anniversary we are also commemorating, has fully proved its worth. It is reliably ensuring the independence and equal rights of our peoples, and at the same time strengthening the common Czechoslovak state through mutual cooperation for the further prosperity of our homeland. The rights of the nationalities living in our state are fully provided for. The past few years have borne witness to the fact that the fundamental political and social rights of our people have been achieved through the struggle of the progressive forces, headed by the working class, which has been guided and led by the CPCZ. The 40 years of Socialist Czechoslovakia have guaranteed social justice and the equal status of all citizens before the law. They have created the conditions for the people to assert their power in daily life. Cooperation between the working class, cooperative farmers and intelligentsia, and between our peoples and nationalities represents a firm basis for the further development of the revolutionary process of our society. The social, economic, political, ideological, and cultural values created by our society, above all in the period of the 40 years following the February victory, fill us with feelings of real pride. They encourage us in our further endeavors to implement the strategy of speeding up socioeconomic development and the program of radical economic reform, and of deepening the democratization of our society as set out by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

We are at the very beginning of this complex process—just at the beginning—as you know. Our wishes and hopes rely on the most valuable asset we have—the potential, creativity, initiative, and skills of our people. We are convinced that the program for the further revolutionary development of Czechoslovak society will be supported by every decent citizen by way of his honest and high-quality work, experience, and abilities. As our 70-year history has confirmed (?many times), our greatest asset for the future lies in our people's creative work, true socialist patriots and internationalists.

Long live our dear homeland, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic! Long may it flourish! [Applause]

## Stepan Urges Continuance of 'Embarked Course'

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[Speech by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chief secretary of the Prague City Party Committee, at a rally in Wenceslas Square in Prague to mark the 70th anniversary of independent Czechoslovakia—live]

[Text] Comrades, dear citizens of Prague and esteemed friends. Tomorrow, 28 October 1988, it will be 70 years since at this very place, Wenceslas Square, people of Prague waited with excitement for the confirmation of the reports that the Austro-Hungarian Empire asked for an armistice after the war it had lost long ago. Here our fathers, mothers, grandfathers, young and old stood side by side in order to proclaim an independent state, which they desired from the bottom of their hearts to be socialist, democratic, and socially just. Louder and louder could be heard from the crowd, numbering thousands: We are independent, we are free. This voice rang out as a bugle, powerfully and convincingly, from the mouths and hearts of all people of Prague, who spoke for the people of the entire country. Seventy years ago our

forefathers made the following proclamation ceremoniously through the mouths of their political representatives: the people of Czechoslovakia. Your ancient dream has become reality. The Czechoslovak state has today entered the ranks of independent, cultural states of the world.

Two days later the political spokesmen of the Slovak nation declared in the Declaration of Martin that Slovakia was forming a union with the Czech lands, creating a united state. What a glorious moment that was. What a great dream was fulfilled at that time.

Comrades, esteemed friends, the struggle for national and social freedom for centuries formed the principle content of our thousands of years'-long history. This struggle had deep roots in the turbulent past, when our nations were faced on more than one occasion with a mortal threat to their very existence. After the 300-years-long subjugation by the Habsburgs, the Czechs and Slovaks breathed freely. They stood side by side on the threshold of independence. They demonostrated their moral strength because they did not abandon their language and culture, did not renounce their Slovanic origins, their own history, which proved itself to be viable and worthy of the 20th century.

The birth of Czechoslovakia was a revolutionary and progressive act. It was the popular masses, the ordinary man, patriotic intelligentsia, radicalized by the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, who above all deserve credit for this. Credit is also due to the foreign-based and domestic resistance to Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, Eduard Benes, Milan Rastislav Stefanik, and others.

Klement Gottwald paid tribute in 1942 to the influence Great October had on Europe: It was the October Revolution which gave the slogan of the self-determination of nations its content, and turned it into action. Its example made the most significant contribution to the demise of the Austro-Hungarian jail and thus helped the Czech nation to realize its ancient aspirations to retain national freedom and state existence.

Comrades, esteemed friends, the Great October Socialist Revolution provided an example in tackling social demands in a concrete manner. Statehood was born arising from the will of the working class and workers. This is why over 100,000 workers carrying socialist slogans marched through Prague on 1 May 1918. This is why on 14 October the Socialist Council set out the demand on their behalf for a program of social progress, social and national liberation. The situation, however, was not ripe at that time to carry out these demands. The working class was not prepared for socialist revolution. It was not led by a revolutionary Marxist party. The young republic was given a dowry of sharp class contradiction. The ideas of social progress, however, were getting stronger. The workers attained greater democratic and social rights than workers anywhere else in Europe: an 8-hour working day, land reform, and other measures were made into law. The basic social and nationalistic problems, however, were not solved. Industry developed in a dynamic way, foreign trade grew, and culture and education advanced. The first republic, as is the habit to call it, was in the thirties one of the more advanced states. The class contradictions, however, deepened. The boom was soon replaced by crisis phenomena. The Republic experienced much unemployment, while in the poorly developed parts of the country there was poverty. Only the foundation of the CPCZ in 1921 made possible the increase of a politically aware struggle against exploitation. It became the prerequisite for the mobilization of revolutionary forces, and made an important contribution to the creation of a real possibility to apply thoroughly in the new state not only the principles of national independence, but also of the widest possible equality of people.

Significant names of creative intelligentsia were linked with the revolutionary movement: Jiri Wolker, S.K. Neumann, Ladislav Vancura, Daniel Okali, Laco Novomesky, and other important persons. The ideals of real social progress found support in the workers' masses and also among the creators of our permanent national cultural values, the creators of our cultural heritage.

These facts, along with the idealistic proceeding of the CPCZ, caused the spread of the ideas of socialism among the Czechoslovak society of the thirties. The speed of their dissemination increased with the force of internal economic and social difficulties and external political pressure, which threatened the stability of Czechoslovakia and its independence.

It was the year 1938 in particular which brought our peoples again to the fatal crossroads of history. While the left wing, led by the CPCZ, marked out the slogan: To protect the republic and defend the state, which was not always kind to the working people, the bourgeois notables capitulated under the cynical pressure of Great Britain and France. They permitted the break-up of the young state—for the birth of which they always claimed great merits. After 20 years they took back the "yes" they had given to Czechoslovakia in Versailles.

Comrades, the break-up of the independent state, the eradication of all democratic liberties, the handing over of the rich industrial and arms-construction potential into Hitler's hands, the tearing away of Slovakia, and the introduction of bloody terror—these were the consequences of the betrayal committed on our country in Munich by London and Paris, along with the weakness and betrayal by the Czechoslovak bourgeois leadership. Therefore our peoples will never forget these dearly paid-for lessons: Munich, and 15 March 1939 will never be wiped from our history. They will never forget the

honest behavior of the USSR. It was prepared to help and to extinguish the first sparks of the war before it could flare into a destructive fire.

The years of Nazi occupation were endlessly long, tragic, and sometimes hopeless. So many large sacrifices were made. Therefore today's remembrance and oath belong also to all fighters of the anti-Nazi underground, to all dauntless partisans in the Czech, Moravian, and Slovak forests, to the members of Svoboda's Army, and also to soldiers on the other fronts of the Second World War. It belongs to prisoners in concentration camps and Nazi prisons, to men, women, and children of Lidice, to victims and fighters of the Slovak National uprising, to victims and fighters of the May uprising of the Czech peoples, and of the Prague uprising. The new republic was born from suffering and blood, but also from the ideals of freedom, based on deep national traditions of social justice and peace.

When early in the morning of 9 May 1945 the Soviet Army liberated bleeding and courageously fighting Prague, when the Cossack's horse drank from Vltava, and the happy people of Prague danced in Wenceslas Square, it was obvious that the war sacrifices were not in vain. The revolutionary ideals and the bequest of 1918 came again to the forefront. Czechoslovak independence, national liberty, and social justice could never again become a toy in the hands of heartless players on a European chess board. The new state had not only new strength, but gained also a faithful ally on which it could depend—the USSR.

Comrades, the developments after 1946 are convincing evidence of the loyalty of the Czechoslovak peoples to the bequest of 28 October 1918. What happened after the liberation was not only a pure restoration of prewar conditions. In the national and democratic revolution a true people's state was born, based on a wide alliance of working people, united in the National Front, toward a common aim in the name of a happy life of honest man.

The great struggle for the socialist character of the Republic, the experience of social clashes in the thirties, of the antifascist fight, the first whiffs of Cold War, but above all the statemanship qualities of the CPCZ, were the most important factors which, in the end, led the united peoples to the victorious 25 February 1948. It was in this very square where about 100,000 workers called for the only choice of our further development—for socialism. Klement Gottwald was not returning here to Wenceslas Square to the people who were waiting for him only as a symbol of the victory of the power struggle against the bourgeoise, but also as a representative of a new honest policy in which national interests were materialized by carrying out deep social changes, and the historical ideals of justice gradually changed into the new qualities of the lives of workers and all people.

Comrades, more than half the period since 1918 was filled with the construction of socialism. Courageous socioeocnomic and cultural goals were mapped out. We have achieved many of them. The years-long dreams of the working class, of workers to have social certainties, became an everyday reality. We have gone through years of socialist industrialization, of new construction, of creating farming cooperatives. As is known, this advance was a path not trodden before. People learned on the way to build a modern socialist society. Along with successes, we also had unrealistic illusions, we were sometimes ignorant, we made some mistakes. We know that no history is of only one color, or even white or black. That is why we learn from it not only to understand the errors, the causes of shortcomings, and superfluous digressions from the correct way, but also permanently valid lessons for our way forward. We must not forget them, as these very phenomena became one of the sources of the attacks on socialism at the end of the sixties. We learn from the lessons of our history. It tells us about great possibilities, about great aims attained in the past by the work of the Czechoslovak peoples. It strengthens us with pride and patriotic self-confidence, and with faith in the correctness of our path forward for the future.

The socialist era in the lives of the Czechoslovak peoples is marked by convincing achievements and created values. To defend this, our democratic, people's, and revolutionary order is a patriotic and embracing all-nation task based on the bequest of 70 years of the struggle of the Czechoslovak peoples.

Let us defend socialism, but not mistakes, failures and weaknesses. Let us do everything to develop it. The years of the building of socialism brought us values which are recognized by the entire progressive world, and by every honest person of this country if he looks around with open eyes. This was always the case when the party was able to assess objectively the state and the needs of society; when, on in its decisions and actions it leaned on the wisdom and experience of the working people; and when it led the necessary changes. Therefore the following words of the highest party representative Milos Jakes apply all the more in this time of political and economic changes and reforms: We will thoroughly implement in practice the deeply democratic essence of the political system, which belongs to the greatest achievements of the people, attained in their struggle for the revolutionary changes of society.

Communists, the real inheritors of the traditions of 28 October, who express the deepest wishes of the Czechoslovak people, also today feel responsible for the future of their country, for its socialist course, which we have chosen irrevocably and will never do otherwise. Today, as in the past, it is the CPCZ which leads changes, is a pioneer in the ways of revolutionary changes, of finding the truth, of promoting progress, which is brought by restructuring, a really new revolution. We therefore find ourselves directly in the midst of a turbulent time full of

turns and fundamental changes which affect us intimately and speak to each of us. They are directly calling all citizens, all the people, to action. This is because the work facing us is a matter for the whole nation. Men and women, youth and veterans, workers, farmers, and the intelligentsia are all called. Each of us has a responsibility for a deed which must be a real one at this time.

We follow on the great accomplishments of the 40 years of building socialism. We talk frankly about the truth of the present, about the difficulties and experience that have accumulated, and about matters that impede us. We reject dogmas and illusions, and unrealistic hopes that lead to social indifference and natural disenchantment. Word must once again resound and be the manifestation of living practice and realism. We are convinced that every promise must be carried out and fulfilled. This is because there is no more important criterium of the morality of politics in the interest of the people than its social validity and credibility in practice. The stage of the economic and social restructuring we have now entered will be such a period. It has the full support of the working people. People do not want the proclamation of big and verbose slogans. They welcome concrete and positive changes at their workplace, in state administration, shops, transportation, housing, and social welfare, and in greater democracy in public life. We are convincing ourselves of this more and more in the everyday life of our capital city.

Comrades, the public has expressed its agreement with the results of the 10th Party Central Committee session. The public sees in it proof that public comments and recommendations are respected in the party's policy and that the voice of the people is decisive in this country, and that it is the real law. We are striving to increase substantially the independence and accountability of enterprises, work collectives, and each individual to broadly apply the principles of self-management. Important decisions have been made in favor of further deepening socialist democracy, the openness of politics, the promotion of a greater flow of information to the public, public supervision, and reliable renewal cadres.

The results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and experience from the course of the restructuring in the first land of socialism are encouragement and inspiration to us. From the bottom of our heart we wish it full success. Its ideas will be used further in tackling the tasks connected with hastening the preparation of the 18th CPCZ Congress, improving the political system, preparing the new CSSR Constitution, deepening the democratic principles of general elections, preparing the program for the all-round creation of conditions for the happy life of the nations and ethnic minorities of the CSSR, and in adopting further key tasks in the social, economic, and cultural spheres.

Esteemed friends, to be dissatisfied with the results achieved belongs to socialism and the revolutionary character of the period. We all would want better living standards, better results, more just remuneration, stricter action against laziness, against bureaucratism, and against a haughty attitude toward people. This will not, however, be achieved without the enthusiastic and honest work of all. Such dissatisfaction, coupled with constructive public activity, is essential. It is a thousand times more beneficial than marking time and speculating on whether it will pay to get down to work or to wait to see how everything will end.

We do not know precisely what difficulties and barriers we will have to overcome. We are, however, convinced that the mainstream of activity, real partiotism, and honest and conscious work aimed at the further development of the country, will grow, will carry along those who are still hesitating, and will clear from its path everything that impedes faster progress.

We are determined to continue consistently on the embarked course. We will not allow the misuse of the process of restructuring and democratization by people who are not interested in socialism and the homeland, people who do not want to understand the bequest of 28 October 1918, the 70-year experience of the Czechoslovak peoples, people who are trying to destabilize society, to poison the atmosphere, and in addition to let themselves be paid well in foreign currency for this touching pseudopatriotic activity.

The 10th CPCZ Central Committee session stated clearly: Our political system, the firm base of which is the National Front, provides extensive possibilities for the application of socialist democracy. We support all honest intentions. We are for socialist pluralism and for the pluralism of views, but not for the formation of structures that have nothing in common with the honest intention and effort to build socialism. Here, a dialogue does not exist, and everyone knows that it is not possible. This must be clear to everyone here at this gala occasion. We will continue to lean fully upon the views and support of the honest majority of the working people of our country and to reinforce the social responsibility in the interest of restructuring. It is as true today as it was in the past: We will not let our republic be disrupted. [republiku si rozvracet nenechame] [applause]

Comrades, we support the words uttered at the 10th Central Committee session. What we need today, above all, is well-thought out, honest, and creative work, high social responsiblity, and an active attitude toward tasks.

Made wise by the 70-year-history of our republic, we know that for further progress we need peace in the world, international political guarantees. We are firmly behind the active peace policy of the USSR. We take part in the promotion of the initiatives of socialist countries as well as our own. In this part of Europe, in its very heart, as it is said, we especially indentify with the idea of the common European home, which was heard for the first time in Prague during the visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. We are doubly vitally interested in the

continuous development of the process of disarmament, in particular in nuclear disarmament, in an end to tension, in the reinforcement of confidence in international relations, and that they become irreversible.

Dear citizens and comrades, let us be proud that it was in the ancient streets, squares, and workplaces of Prague, in the famous red zone round Prague, in the Kladno area and in other centers of the revolutionary movement where the majority of great events of key importance from the chronicle of the 70-year history of our republic took place.

From today's gala assembly in honor of 28 October 1918, from historical Wenceslas Square we greet the working people of our entire homeland. We congratulate them on our common national day, the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic, the common home of Czechs and Slovaks. [applause]

We greet our Soviet friends and the working people of the other socialist countries, and wish them many successes in the implementation of their great revolutionary tasks. We greet all sincere friends of our homeland throughout the world, on all continents. We assure them, and ourselves too, that we understand well the bequest of 28 October 1918, and that we guard and develop its main ideals: national equality and unity, state independence, and social freedom. We will continue to reinforce and deepen it in our daily work. Let the spirit of 28 October, 9 May and 25 February live in each of us, as they are a pledge for today and tomorrow.

Long live and flourish our free country, our common, beloved homeland, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, long live socialism and peace. [applause]

## Founding Day Celebrations Described

*LD2810000188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Excerpts] The celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the founding of Czechoslovakia culminated today on the eve of 28 October in Prague. Here is a report from Lubos Lidicky:

[Lidicky] Prague Castle was the scene of a gala session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Presidium of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee, and the Presidiums of the Federal Assembly and federal government. In the Spanish Hall—decorated with Czechoslovak state colors, the red banner, and the slogan: In the firm unity of the people, nations, and nationalities of Czechoslovakia for the further prosperity of the Czechoslovak socialist homeland—the following party and state representatives took their places: Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the national front; President Gustav Husak; Premier Ladislav Adamec; Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Ignac Janak, Josef Kempny, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, members of the Presidium of the party Central Committee; and other party and state representatives. Also among the guests were members of the Prague diplomatic corps.

The keynote speech was delivered by President Gustav Husak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee. [passage omitted]

At the rally, Prague Mayor Zdenek Horcik welcomed the following distinguished guests: Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; President Gustav Husak; Premier Ladislav Adamec; and other party and state representatives. He then gave the floor to Miroslav Stepan. [passage omitted]

The rally of the working people to mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of Czechoslovakia, which took place in Wenceslas Square in Prague today, ended with the Internationale.

## Johanes Leaves for Budapest Pact Meeting

*LD2710162388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes left for Budapest today to take part in the regular session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee to be held 28-29 October.

### Shots Reportedly Heard in Escape Attempt

*LD2810121188 Hamburg DPA in German 0616 GMT 28 Oct 88*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Yesterday evening an escape attempt may have been prevented at the GDR border crossing point of Drewitz by the use of fire arms.

According to the Berlin police today, the traffic lights were at red for around 5 minutes. Apart from this an alarm was sounded. People traveling to Berlin reported hearing several shots shortly before. [Hamburg DPA in German at 0925 GMT on 28 October carries a similar report which states:"Three GDR citizens succeeded in fleeing over the border to Bavaria without incident yesterday evening."]

### ADN Refutes Shooting Reports

*LD2810121288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1127 GMT 28 Oct 88*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The report disseminated by Western media that GDR border troops allegedly fired shots at the Drewitz and Staaken border crossing points is a complete fabrication.

### Honecker Greets Pope on 10th Anniversary

*AU2510151488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22-23 Oct 88 p 1*

[ND report: "GDR Congratulations to Pope John Paul II; Erich Honecker's Telegram on Anniversary of Assumption of Office"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Pope John Paul II:

Your Holiness:
On the 10th anniversary of your assumption of office, I convey to you my cordial congratulations, which I add to best wishes for your personal well-being.

I am sure that your work for peace and understanding will continue to contribute to promoting trust and to advancing the world on the road toward a future without nuclear weapons.

Erich Honecker
Chairman of the GDR State Council.

### Mittag Holds Economic Talks in Austria

#### Meetings, Activities Reported

*LD2110091188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1555 GMT 20 Oct 88*

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, at the invitation of Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, is holding economic talks in Austria. He was received Thursday by the federal chancellor in his official residence on the Ballhausplatz.

Guenter Mittag conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. Federal Chancellor Vranitzky warmly reciprocated the greetings. The partners in the talks expressed their satisfaction with the process of disarmament which had commenced on the basis of the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States. They stressed that their governments fully support this process. Both partners in the talks pointed out that joint efforts by all CSCE states were now required to conclude the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting with the adoption of a substantial and balanced document.

Realistic approaches and consideration of the legitimate interests of all sides are necessary in this. Starting from the talks and negotiations betwen Erich Honecker and Federal Chancellor Vranitzky this June in the GDR, the partners in the talks positively assessed the state and the perspectives of GDR-Austrian relations, particularly economic relations. The Leipzig autumn fair for example, at which the Austrian economy was again prestigiously represented, had again underlined the continuous and mutually advantageous business activity between the countries.

At the conclusion of their talks, Guenter Mittag and Dr Franz Vranitzky signed an agreement on further measures for expanding economic relations in 1989. The agreement establishes concrete steps for the further dynamic development of economic cooperation.

The focal point in this is the expansion of industrial cooperation between combines, enterprises, and institutions of GDR and Austrian nationalized industries as well as highly specialized private companies. In addition to direct bilateral cooperation, concrete working areas for cooperation in third markets were coordinated. Furthermore, reciprocal purchases of consumer goods and foodstuffs were agreed on.

On the same day, Guenter Mittag gave a lecture on the subject of the GDR national economy and present and future requirements. Leading representatives of the Austrian economic sector, including Federal Minister Dr Rudolf Streicher and Robert Graf, and Federal Economic Chamber President Rudolf Sallinger attended the lecture.

Guenter Mittag had a friendly meeting with Rudolf Sallinger, President of the Federal Economic Chamber. On this occasion, Guenter Mittag assessed the agreement signed with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky for the development of economic relations between the two countries for 1989 as significant for further strengthening and expanding relations. President Sallinger for his

part positively evaluated the state of economic relations with the GDR. He assessed the renewed vigorous participation of Austrian firms in the 1988 Leipzig Fair as an expression of Austria's great interest in further expanding relations with the GDR. This is also the spirit in which the Austria Technology days provided for in the agreement, to take place in the GDR, are to be understood. These are to be organized and staged by the Bundeskammer.

Taking part in the talks on the GDR side were Dr Gerhard Beil, minister for foreign trade, and Ambassador Klaus Wolf.

### Meets Muhri, Concludes Visit

*LD2110210888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 21 Oct 88*

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—On Friday in Vienna Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State; met Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria [KPOe], and concluded his visit to Austria after economic talks in Graz, the provincial capital of Styria.

To the chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, Guenter Mittag conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, which were cordially reciprocated. The participants in the conversation stressed the complete agreement of the two parties in basic international issues, and discussed the latest developments on the GDR's initiatives with regard to the creation of a nuclear-weapons-free corridor, a chemical weapons-free zone and a zone of trust and security in central Europe. The KPOe chairman wished the GDR further success in the preparations for the 40th anniversary.

Guenter Mittag briefed Franz Muhri on the agreement concluded with Federal Chancellor Dr Franz Vranitzky concerning the development of economic relations between the GDR and Austria in 1989, which also assists with securing jobs in Austrian companies.

Also taking part in the talks were: Gerhard Beil, member of the SED Central Committee and GDR Foreign Trade minister; Klaus Wolf, ambassador of the GDR in Austria; and Hans Kalt, member of the Politburo and secretary of the KPOe Central Committee.

On the same day in Graz, Guenter Mittag met Dr Josef Krainer, governor of Styria. In the meeting at Graz Castle, the seat of the Styrian Provincial Government, the participation of Styrian enterprises in economic relations with foreign trade enterprises and combines of the GDR, within the framework of overall economic relations between Austria and the GDR, was the topic of discussion. Styrian enterprises have a share of some 20 percent in these relations at the present time. The two parties to the talks stressed the positive effect of stability and continuity in economic relations between the GDR and Austria.

In a subsequent exchange of views with representatives of enterprises and of economic activities in the federal province of Styria, Landtag President Dr Lindi Kalnoky took part, along with Gerhard Beil, GDR foreign trade minister; and Klaus Wolf, GDR ambassador in Austria, for the GDR side.

### Dohlus Addresses 20 Oct Party Aktiv Conference

*AU25O173188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Oct 88 pp 3-4*

[Speech by Horst Dohlus, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee: "The Benefit and the Happiness of the People Are the Highest Principle of Our Party's Activities" at the Berlin Bezirk Party Aktiv Conference on 20 October]

[Excerpts] Dear Comrades,
At this bezirk party aktiv conference we want to discuss some topical questions of party work to further implement the decisions of the 11th party congress. It is taking place at a time when especially high demands are made on the party and, thus, on each individual comrade.

The Central Committee praises and appreciates the initiative-filled work and exemplary actions that the Berlin Communists, together with all working people, have performed in implementing the party's policy, which is aimed at the benefit of the people. Together with thanks for your great achievements in universally strengthening the GDR, I convey to you the most cordial greetings of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

A Successful Course for 4 Decades [subhead]

Comrades,
With the present party elections we account for the successful implementation of the decisions of our 11th party congress. We take stock of achievements in all social fields and exchange our respective militant experiences. The party is preparing for the tasks that lie ahead. Our confident progress is based mainly on the fact that the SED acts in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in line with the maxim: The people can count on the party, and the only privilege of its members is to serve the people.

In ideological and organizational unity and solidarity, our party, which has close links with the masses, is directing the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. In accordance with the SED program, it is successfully organizing this historic process of

profound political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes, which constantly poses new questions, which are answered and solved by the uniform actions of the party members, in cooperation with the working people.

To be constantly aware of this is important above all because we never regard the development of the socialist society as something that has been completed or concluded forever. On the contrary, we are and always have been interested in reacting promptly to new challenges that result from specific internal and external circumstances and in constructively pointing out the ways that are required by the people's interests. For 4 decades our party has taken a successful course in leading and directing the process of social development. The implementation of the course of the main task in the unity of economic and social policy, which aims to benefit the people, is bearing rich fruit.

Desire of the Workers Movement Has Become Reality [subhead]

In the firm alliance of the workers class with the class of cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, and the other working people, we have constantly strengthened the worker-peasant state and further developed socialist democracy, together with the friendly parties and all social forces united in the National Front. Nobody will divert us from this course. Thanks to the wise and far-sighted policy of our Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, we will continue it by staunchly implementing the decisions of the 11th party congress. [passage omitted]

The Party's Leading Role Continues To Grow [subhead]

Comrades,

The further successful shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR requires in the first place united and cohesive action by our party and the further upgrading of its leading role to meet the growing social demands and to fulfill the decisions of the 11th party congress in their entire complexity.

The more extensive and comprehensive that directing and planning all aspects and forms of the social processes become, the greater the role of the party's political leadership of society.

For the party's leading organs this results in the tasks

—of guiding and directing the deliberate and planned activities of the people on the path of socialism and peace,

—of convincing all citizens that this policy, which serves the interests of the workers class and the whole population, is right and victorious,

—and of encouraging and directing the creative initiatives of the people for the solution of the tasks.

This is and remains a great demand on every comrade, irrespective of the militant section in which he has to represent and implement the party's policy. The party is fulfilling its leading role above all through the active and unified work of all its members and candidates in trusting cooperation with the citizens.

Because the party is the main force in the socialist political system, the opponents are attacking it in order to weaken its leading role. These people have to learn that the SED is and will remain the most important factor in the successful development of society shaped by the victorious revolutionary workers class. The SED has made the interests of, the benefits to, and the happiness of the people the highest principle of its activities and it feels responsible for everything that happens in our country.

With the party elections, and in view of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KPD, the municipal elections, and the Whitsun meeting of the youth in the GDR capital, Berlin, our party is now preparing for political-ideological work that is effective among the masses. It is essential to further strengthen in this way the relationship of trust between the party and people, to reach all citizens, and to lead them to accomplish great social tasks. The most important prerequisite for all this is a high level of complex management work by all party leaderships, inner-party life, and democracy within the party, which render it possible to make the party's objectives the performance standard of all workers collectives.

This makes it necessary for the leadership of the basic organizations to aim—in an even more concrete way—the political-ideological qualifications and education in the collectives, the comparison of performance, the exchange of experiences, and party control at fulfilling all parts of the plan and purposefully mobilizing their own internal reserves for its fulfillment. Priority should be given to:

—the products specified by the state plan,

—the tasks of the state plan for science and technology,

—putting into operation the projects in honor of the 40th anniversary of the GDR and all investment projects within the planned parameters according to schedule,

—contributing greatly to consumer goods production,

—increasing exports and import refunding [Importabloesung],

—and generally increasing the efficiency of production.

This is the prerequisite for continuously advancing our performance-oriented economic development and successfully implementing our sociopolitical program. Those who sometimes make unrealistic demands and only ask questions, instead of fully assuming their own responsibility, also have to understand this. Precisely for this reason, clarifying every day that our social development is based on the principle of performance places a high demand on political-ideological work.

Nobody Must Live at the Expense of Others [subhead]

Only the standard of work determines the standard of consumption. Only what has been produced can be consumed, and nobody must live at the expense of others. This realization always has to be accompanied by the responsibility of the managers, from the managing director to the masters, for setting clear performance standards for every collective which correspond to our society's development principle.

In order to achieve this, the party organizations should concentrate their leadership activities above all on:

—increasing the party's political influence during the decisive stages of the reproduction process in the enterprises and using the entire variety of inner-party life for this,

—permanently strengthening the militant positions in all party and workers collectives; fulfilling every plan task and competitive commitment, based on high performance in every-day working life, fully assuming one's own responsibility, and delegating nothing to the outside, and

—better enabling comrades and their workers collectives to take top international standards as a guideline in the struggle for top performances in technology and products and better efficiency in science and technology, and guiding all to achieving the best. [passage omitted]

What a Comrade Distinguishes Himself by Today [subhead]

By what does a comrade distinguish himself today?

Above all by feeling that he himself is responsible for everything and by being ready always to give his best for the benefit of the people. Every communist has voluntarily linked his life to the party's life.

His actions have to be determined by steadfast trust in the Central Committee's policy and firm class attitudes in every situation; by militant dedication to socialism and its achievements, accompanied by passionate commitment to everything new, all affairs of the people, and problems that have to be solved, and by exemplary work to universally strengthen the socialist motherland, for the people's benefit and active international solidarity.

In accordance with this, the whole party, including your seasoned bezirk party organization, is successfully implementing the decisions of the 11th party congress. [passage omitted]

Starting from our Marxist-Leninist positions, all comrades must always be on the offensive in taking issue with all manifestations of imperialist ideology and policy and expose the lies and defamations of the enemies of socialism. The aggravation of ideological system conflicts between socialism and imperialism makes this task more urgent than ever before. We must never forget that we are dealing with imperialists and that there will be class struggle in the world as long as there are antagonistic classes. Karl Marx' and Friedrich Engels' merit was not the exposure of the existence of class struggle, but of its laws. This realization strengthens our awareness that the struggle to make socialism attractive and to secure peace has to be carried out even more decisively.

Thus, the strengthening of all comrades politically and ideologically remains a fundamental question. A party collective must never accept that individual comrades hold back in political mass work. A party member must not just observe or watch the party's struggle but actively contribute to shaping our policy and deliberately support it. We must always start from the principle that our party is a revolutionary militant party and that the demands on its members continue to grow.

Given the profound political education of our comrades, it must be expected of them all that they remain on the offensive and answer every political question according to the party line, on the basis of a clear class position, the knowledge of our entire policy, and firm confidence in the Central Committee. As life shows us, situations will repeatedly arise in which comrades have to immediately take the offensive without waiting first for instructions "from above" or questions "from below." [passage omitted]

Comrades,

Every party organization should always start from the principle that the most important aspect in taking stock of our work is the development of man himself, his increased educational and cultural standard, his deliberate creative actions for his socialist motherland and for peace. For it constitutes a great intellectual potential that today in our socialist economy approximately 90 percent of the working people have completed vocational training, 1.7 million of them are university and technical school graduates and more than 5 million are master craftsmen and skilled workers. [passage omitted]

Among the good results of the purposeful cadre policy is the comprehensive educational offensive in the party and the entire population in order to implement the decisions of the Central Committee. Today more than 83.1 percent of the leading basic organization members have attended a party school for more than 3 months.

Since the Eighth SED Congress, the number of party secretaries educated in social sciences for more than 1 year has increased from 16.7 to 49.1 percent. [passage omitted]

The socialist countries' peace program has set much in motion. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, as well as many additional peace activities of socialist, nonaligned, and other states prove this. Our party and Comrade Erich Honecker himself have made a great contribution to turning the worldwide coalition of reason and realism into an influential force against a nuclear inferno.

Accordingly, the Berlin International Meeting on Nuclear-Free Zones is of far-reaching importance and is a convincing expression of the new thinking of the nuclear age. The initiatives to create a nuclear-free corridor, a zone free of chemical weapons and a zone of confidence and security in central Europe are also aimed at this. This is also reflected by the many constructive dialogues with representatives of parties and states from all over the world, as recently demonstrated by Comrade Erich Honecker's talks during his visit to Spain.

According to the decisions of the 11th party congress, we are consistently continuing to follow our predictable and confidence-building foreign policy at the side of the USSR and the other socialist countries. For the aggressive NATO circles, the forces of the industrial-military complex that cling to the strategy of nuclear deterrence, do not renounce nuclear weapons, and want to prevent further disarmament steps are far from being controlled.

No Coexistence Between Socialist and Bourgeois Ideology [subhead]

The struggle for safeguarding peace is the decisive question of the survival of mankind, with the party and each of its members assuming increasing responsibility. Therefore individual comrades who said in bezirk election meetings that we do not need to communicate any further on the peace policy as everything is clear, are by no means right. In the party and workers collectives, and especially among the young people, we have to make it clear in a more convincing way that the confrontation between socialist and bourgeois ideologies is still going on. There is no coexistence in this field, and if there were it would not eliminate class struggle.

Therefore it is always essential to show high political vigilance, to prevent the intrusion of anti-Marxist, and antisocialist ideologies, and to energetically and offensively oppose the attempts to raise doubts and uncertainty. The GDR is, as Comrade Erich Honecker said during the role-call on the 35th anniversary of the workers militia, "no playground for people who want to drag us back to former times, to the old misery."

Comrades,

In accordance with the SED program, the 11th party congress affirmed that the inseparable militant alliance with Lenin's party and country and the GDR's irrevocable incorporation in the socialist community of states are a basic condition and source of power for the development of the socialist GDR.

The press release on the meeting between Comrades Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow and the other materials published demonstrate the concurrent views on principal foreign policy and socialist construction questions. They constitute a joint working program to further develop cooperation in politics, economics, science, and technology.

It is important for socialism to be strengthened, that is to say, for the productive forces to be further developed, and for the social standards of the working people to be permanently improved according to their achievements. The new challenges are connected with the basic standpoint that every socialist country should actively contribute to the importance of international socialism, its peace offensive, its attraction, and influence, according to concrete national and international conditions.

There are a number of questions about present development in some socialist countries. This is completely natural because people are interested in the development processes that are going on in the world, especially in the socialist countries.

There is primarily one answer to all these questions:

—The communist movement is a worldwide movement of independent, equal, revolutionary parties.

— In every socialist country, individual development is taking place and, accordingly, the measures and methods of directing and planning social processes are different.

—The variations in socialist countries' development are caused by efforts to make socialism more attractive in one's own country and in general.

We already answered the question of the nature of socialism, at the Eighth SED Congress by formulating the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. And we laid down in the 1976 party platform that the purpose of socialism is to do everything for the benefit of the people. And, comrades, this was not only written down but has been proven by deeds, and therefore is the supreme guideline for our actions.

We start from the premise that every party works under its own specific fighting conditions and has a responsibility toward its own people. We take the experiences that have been gained in the socialist construction of other socialist countries into consideration and use them

without simply copying them. In accordance with our conditions, we will consistently pursue the policy adopted by the 11th SED Congress and take into account the specific requirements of further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR.

Further Developing Socialist Democracy [subhead]

In this way, we are fulfilling the fundamental task of our party program, which is to constantly strengthen the socialist state as the main instrument of the working people who are led by the workers class.

The main task in developing our socialist state power is to further unfold and perfect our socialist democracy. The 11th SED Congress placed major emphasis on the consistent implementation of democratic centralism, the increasingly close link between central state management and planning and the creative initiatives of the people's masses. This is currently becoming impressively clear during the plan discussion for 1989, which affects all work collectives and residential areas. [passage omitted]

## Grosz Confirms Plan To Leave Premier Post

*LD2810091888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 28 Oct 88*

[Text] Karoly Grosz has confirmed that in November he will leave the post of premier. In his statement, given to MAGYAR HIRLAP, he said that parliament would probably decide on the new premier on 24 November. There are currently five nominees, but other people could also come into consideration. The Politburo will propose one name to the Central Committee, which will also make a proposal for one person to the People's Front. Karoly Grosz justified this by saying that it was not unusual in political practice to nominate more than one person for the post of premier.

Analyzing the activity of almost 1 and ½ years of his government, Karoly Grosz said that he was dissatisfied. He added that he would feel the same even if governmental work had been more successful. Despite this, he was of the opinion that the realization of the accepted program was proceeding well.

The premier mentioned that in the coming 1 or 2 years, the tax system would be further amended and wage reform would be introduced.

The premier, party general secretary, dealt separately with the work of the government and the narrower party leadership. He expressed the opinion that the Council of Ministers is completely unified. The Politburo is also completely unified on political questions. At the same time, there are very open debates and significant differences in questions of tactics, methods, and workstyle, Karoly Grosz said in an interview with MAGYAR HIRLAP.

## Karoly Grosz Continues Visit, Talks in Iran

### Meets With Foreign Minister

*LD2610125288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 26 Oct 88*

[Excerpt] Gyorgy Bernard reports from Tehran on the second day of Premier Karoly Grosz' visit.

[Bernard] Talks, punctuated by museum visits—this is what the Iranian hosts organized for Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, this morning.

This morning at 0530 talks started with Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. This was followed by a brief half-hour visit to a museum containing the most valuable Persian rugs, a meeting with the speaker of Parliament, Hashemi-Rafsanjani, and then another museum, this time that of Iranin archeological finds. This concluded the morning activities.

Now, in somewhat more detail. With regard to the political content of the day, at the talks with Foreign Minister Velayati, Karoly Grosz said that there were no matters in dispute between the two countries. The Iranian foreign minister added that this is an important element of Hungarian-Iranian contacts, which go back several thousand years. They agreed that long-term strategic relations are needed between the two countries. We have no ongoing problems, said Foreign Minister Velayati.

Karoly Grosz assured him that Iranian foreign policy endeavors would have Hungary's support. In this connection, Foreign Minister Velayati declared that the conclusion of the Iran-Iraq conflict now depends on Iraq's behavior. The foreign minister himself will be representing Iran at the Geneva talks which will open next Monday [31 October].

A reinvigoration of Soviet-Iranian relations can also be expected. The Soviet first deputy foreign minister is expected to visit Tehran, Foreign Minister Velayati told Karoly Grosz. In general, too, Iran is endeavoring to develop contacts with the Eastern bloc countries. Peace creates a good opportunity for these contacts. This was said by Hashemi- Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian Parliament, to Karoly Grosz at their talks.

The Hungarian premier said his talks with Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi yesterday had been successful, and he asked Speaker of Parliament Hashemi-Rafsanjani to support Hungary's participation in rebuilding Iran. [passage omitted]

### Meets With Majlis Speaker

*LD2610204388 Budapest MTI in English 1635 GMT 26 Oct 88*

[Text] Tehran, October 26 (MTI)—Important talks featured in the programme of Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the second day of his visit to Tehran.

In the morning, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati visited the Hungarian prime minister at his residence. At the meeting the Iranian foreign minister reconfirmed that, on the initiative of the United Nations secretary-general and urged by the member states of the Security Council, an Iranian delegation, headed by the prime minister, will participate in the next round of peace talks to begin in Geneva on October 31. Indicating his reservations, Velayati added that the talks should be restricted to the methods of implementing the U.N. Resolution No. 598. In this context he reconfirmed that for its part Iran considers the Algiers Agreement of 1975 on the marking of the common border with Iraq to be fully in force. According to the Iranian evaluation, it is considered the repeated raising of the issues regulated by the agreement and their discussion would amount to the cancellation of the agreement. Velayati considered Soviet-Iranian relations would develop and termed his talks held in New York with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze at the U.N. General Assembly session as good. He

said that they await with expectations the visit to Tehran by the first deputy of the Soviet foreign minister, when the sides can discuss the developing of relations.

Evaluating the Hungarian-Iranian relations Karoly Grosz stated that there are no debated issues between the two countries, and the exemplary cooperation is considered to have prospects.

The Iranian foreign minister similarly termed the relation between the two countries to be sincere and free of disturbing momentums.

In the building of the Iranian parliament, Karoly Grosz met Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Majlis. The sides held longer than planned, direct and informal discussions.

The Hungarian prime minister forwarded the greetings of the National Assembly to the representatives of Iranian legislature and forwarded the invitation of Istvan Stadinger, president of the National Assembly, to Hashemi-Rafsanjani. At the meeting, Karoly Grosz stressed that his visit to Tehran takes place at a time when there is hope for peace, and a chance to attain it, and when the Iranian people can devote their energies to peaceful rebuilding instead of battle.

The chairman of the Hungarian Government offered the participation of Hungary in the realization of the Iranian rebuilding and development programmes, and voiced the hope that the relevant concrete Hungarian proposals would be favourably judged.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani reconfirmed that the intention of Iran for developing relations with the socialist countries remains unchanged. With the nearing of the end of the Gulf War and the settlement of the Afghan issue, there are now more favourable conditions.

Karoly Grosz noted that it follows from the nature of the socialist countries to reject imperialism, but they are not indifferent whether this conflict is embodied in armed conflict or in peaceful economic competition. The socialist countries have not been able to acquire economic superiority to date as they have been prevented by their backwardness originating from their historical past and the fact that the forms serving the more suitable operation of economy have not yet been created. Seeking the appropriate model has begun in the individual countries, but it is a long process.

The speaker of the Iranian parliament showed great interest in the details given by Karoly Grosz on the transformation processes taking place in the socialist countries, and on the development of their more diverse foreign policy. Hashemi-Rafsanjani asked several questions about the position and the role of the state, cooperative and private sectors in the Hungarian economy.

During the morning Karoly Grosz visited the carpet museum of Tehran, and visited the exhibition of the Baastan Museum presenting the historical past of the peoples living on the area of Iran from the second century B.C.

### Meets President, Cites Dialogue

*LD2710173288 Budapest MTI in English 1556 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Tehran, October 27 (MTI)—As reported, Karoly Grosz called on Iranian head of state Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, in his office on Thursday morning in Tehran.

Mr Grosz recalled that Hungary was among the first to recognize the Islamic Republic of Iran, and also proved to be a reliable partner during the difficult years of the war.

Iran's firm intention to improve relations with the socialist countries was expressed by the fact that the Iranian head of state requested the Hungarian prime minister to inform the leaders of the other socialist countries of the experience of his visit.

The Hungarian prime minister stressed that political relations between the two countries are characterized by regular and continuous dialogue. He recalled that the visit of Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi to Hungary in 1986 was a turning point in the relations between the two countries, a foundation has been made, and economic cooperation can be made more efficient.

President Khamene'i highly evaluated the open, sincere, comprehensive and successful talks. He stressed that the meetings give impetus to further cooperation.

He stated that the positions of the two countries only differ on a few international issues, and the current discussions of the Hungarian prime minister have strengthened reciprocal understanding.

### Holds News Conference With Musavi

*LD2710173688 Budapest MTI in English 1647 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Tehran, October 27 (MTI)—Prior to leaving Iran, Hungarian Prime Minister Karoly Grosz held a joint press conference with Mir Hoseyn Musavi. Answering questions, Mr Grosz said that the practical talks were extremely open and sincere. 'We discussed the current political, economic and international issues and held lengthy and profound talks on possibilities for long-term cooperation', he said.

'I believe there was complete agreement between us on the fundamental issues. It is our joint position that we have to strive to deepen political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries. The age of peaceful creative work opens up new opportunities for all of us, and we

should get acquainted with the conceptions and plans of our friends, so we can coordinate our own development efforts,' said the Hungarian prime minister.

'During our talks I became convinced that our hosts are committed believers of peace. It is their wish that the No. 598 resolution of the Security Council be realized. Even during the battles, Hungary made every effort to restore peace, and we now strive to find the cooperation opportunities in peaceful building work.

'With joint determination, we shall make our meetings and talks more frequent', said the Hungarian prime minister.

Mr Musavi stressed that, along with the state of the Middle East region and world political issues, discussions also included the changes that are taking place in the socialist countries. He said: 'It was extremely interesting for us to receive information from one of the pioneers of the transformation of the socialist countries.'

He stressed that agreement reached in economic issues creates a good basis for companies to also develop their relations, and that contracts can also be realized.

### Concludes Visit, Departs 27 Oct

*LD2710100788 Budapest MTI in English 0817 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Tehran, October 27 (MTI)—At the end of a three-day visit to Iran, the Hungarian Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Karoly Grosz left Tehran on Thursday [27 October] morning, together with the group of experts and company managers.

In the last leg of his programme, Karoly Grosz met Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at the head of state's office Thursday morning.

During successful talks of cordial atmosphere, Karoly Grosz and Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi agreed on the continuation of high-level political contacts between the two countries. Accordingly Mr Grosz invited Mr Musavi for an official visit to Hungary. The invitation was accepted with thanks. The chairman of the Council of Ministers also confirmed the invitation to Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Iranian politician expressed the hope that he would be able to meet the invitation in the near future. Agreement was reached on keeping the new visit to Tehran of Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi on the agenda, and on mutual visits by parliamentary delegations to promote the favourably developing relations between the two legislative bodies.

The two prime ministers decided to raise economic cooperation to higher levels in keeping with the common interests of the two countries. In this context, they agreed that the Iranian side would further Hungarian participation in Iran's reconstruction and economic development schemes, particularly in areas where the Hungarian economy has proven competitive. Accordingly, the two prime ministers marked out the priorities of continued economic cooperation, and agreed that the competent government agencies of the two countries would define the appropriate fields of cooperation and concrete investment facilities.

In the course of business talks, the parties confirmed their intention to continue to improve bilateral economic links by increasing trade turnover, launching joint investment projects, transferring technology and applying varied forms of inter-company relations.

Prior to the departure, Karoly Grosz and Mir Hoseyn Musavi signed an aide-memoire on the talks in the exclusive private room of Mehrabad Airport. The 1989-90 cultural exchange scheme was signed at the same place by Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and 'Ali Mohammad Besharati, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

After the signing ceremony, Karoly Grosz and Mir Hoseyn Musavi gave a joint press conference.

Karoly Grosz and his entourage was seen off at flag-bedecked Tehran airport with military honours.

### Returns to Budapest 27 Oct

*LD2710143488 Budapest MTI in English 1320 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Budapest, October 27 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, who paid an official visit to Iran at the invitation of Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, returned to Budapest from Tehran on Thursday.

Accompanying Mr Grosz were Frigyes Berecz, minister for industry, Gabor Nagy, deputy foreign minister, Tibor Melega, deputy minister for trade, Gyula Sos, deputy minister for industry, Gyorgy Marosan, Hungarian Government spokesman, and Imre Szekacs, general manager of Tesco.

Mr Grosz and his party were met at Budapest's Ferihegy Airport by Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister, Tamas Beck, minister for trade, and State Secretary Miklos Raft, head of the office of the Council of Ministers. Also present was Mohammad Moussa Hashemi Golpaiegani [name as received], charge d'affaires ad interim of the Iranian Embassy in Budapest.

### Further Reportage

For reportage by Iranian media on the visit by Chairman of the Council of Ministers Karoly Grosz to Iran, including accounts of his talks with President 'Ali Khamene'i

and Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi, among others, see the Iran section of the 25 October Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

## Grosz Discusses Visits, 'Negotiation Offensive'

*LD2710191988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Karoly Grosz, party general secretary, prime minister, has arrived home from Tehran. As in the past the flight was a good opportunity for conversation between correspondent Gyorgy Bernat and Karoly Grosz.

[Begin recording] [Bernat] If I calculate properly, even taking into account the recent past, you have traveled more frequently than any prime minister in our history. According to my information, but please correct me if I am wrong, you are preparing for visits abroad within the next month. What kind of leadership, political, or head of state philosophy, or perhaps practical consideration, explains this negotiation offensive?

[Grosz] The fact that we not only need to navigate but also to travel is an old conviction of mine. There are processes in the world today which we must not let pass us by. He who is left out will also fall behind permanently. All small countries and all big countries must participate in the construction of the new phase, the new period of cooperation. For this, however, we must be on the go, and we must not only go places, but also receive visitors.

Next, I will go to Vienna. We set the date last year when Mr Vranitzky visited Budapest, so this is a return visit for me.

The trips to Madrid and to Paris were not previously scheduled. An invitation arrived—via Comrade Matyas Szuros—for me to visit France, and to proceed to visit Madrid. Very correctly we informed our dear would-be hosts that, more than likely, I will not be the prime minister by the time of the visit. We would not like to put them into an embarrassing position, so we will leave it to them to decide whether or not I should visit. The reply arrived, saying that whether or not I am prime minister, I am cordially invited. Well now, it was our hosts who assigned the date; we have debated it and decided that we should accept because if we are unable to go now, the visit will be postponed for a relatively long time, as it is more than likely that the newly elected prime minister will not able to travel immediately. And it is also more than likely that our partners have a great many plans, so it is not very easy to find time.

[Bernat] When can the visits to Vienna, Paris, and Madrid be expected?

[Grosz] The Vienna visit has a precise date: 3-4 November; we are coming back at noon on the 5th. We will be in Madrid 2 days and in Paris 2 and ½ days in mid-November. We would like to visit before the Central Committee session planned for 22 November.

[Bernat] Now, on your way home, are you happy as you recline in your seat: Have you achieved the purpose of your visit to Iran?

[Grosz] Yes, we fulfilled our program to the maximum extent. I have to say that we went with concrete plans, as well as with the intention to acquaint ourselves with the possibilities inherent in the process of economic development which will get under way with the peace in the region.

We reached agreement on all the concrete matters—with the exception of the $1.50 difference on the price of oil—just as we had hoped. Even on this issue, namely the price of oil, we agreed that in 20 days—that is, after the OPEC meeting in Vienna—we would agree on the prices. Because the price our Iranian partners are asking is $1.50 higher than the present world market price. Now, the delivery relates to next year, so there is time, we can wait another 20 days and then finish the talks on the price. But even this is facilitated by the principle on which we agreed—that is, that the selling and buying will be at the world market price.

[Bernat] Iran is now preparing for peace and reconstruction. In which areas can we participate in this?

[Grosz] We put forward a great many proposals; we had done so earlier as well. The processing of agricultural produce—not only producing, but processing agricultural produce—will be a priority program in Iran. This is logical: Iran has more than 50 million inhabitants and, according to their calculations, in 20 years the country will have 80 million inhabitants. These 80 million inhabitants will have to be fed, and Iran wants to be self-supporting as regards agricultural products. Thus, naturally, the development of agriculture is a priority program.

Our partners are very interested in the processing and packaging of agricultural produce. But they want to buy complete manufacturing equipment, complete plants. We made proposals in this respect.

There is a similar intention regarding the manufacture of tungsten light bulbs. Our partners told us today that they were expecting the delivery of the manufacturing equipment. Similarly, they are greatly interested in establishing a bicycle manufacturing factory. Here they want us to compete—and this is perfectly correct—with the Japanese suppliers, since the Japanese have put forward a similar proposal. There is great interest in the delivery of cable manufacturing equipment. The establishment of the Medicor [word indistinct] coproduction is also at an advanced stage. The reconstruction of their cement

manufacturing program offers a great many opportunities. In the construction phase they will have a great need for cement; they do not want to import cement, they want to produce it themselves, since they have the raw materials for it. Therefore, they want to modernize their existing factories and build new ones.

[Bernat] But is Iran capable of paying for purchases, and will there be peace? These two questions obviously determine the future of Hungarian-Iranian economic relations.

[Grosz] I cannot answer the second question. I am convinced that our Iranian partners, whom we met, want peace. Whether or not they can achieve it I do not have enough information to judge. I have no doubt about their ability to pay. First of all, we know, and they did not deny it either, that they have considerable currency reserves. They have no debts at all. Besides, they continue to deliver large quantities of oil. Look, 2 million barrels a day amounts to a considerable revenue. Thus, I am convinced that Iran has the financial resources to create the necessary financial conditions required for our economic cooperation. [end recording]

## Economic Development, Trade With Austria

*AU2510113088 Vienna KURIER in German 25 Oct 88 p 7*

[Table attributed to "Girozentrale, Economic Research Institute": "Annual Development of the Hungarian Economy"; and unattributed table "Austrian Foreign Trade With Hungary"]

[Text] Annual Development of the Hungarian Economy [table heading]

Source: Girozentrale, Economic Research Institute

| Forecast changes compared with the previous year (in percent of gross national product | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | minus0.9 | plus0.5 | plus1.8 | plus1.5 |
| Industrial production | plus0.7 | plus2.1 | plus3.5 | plus2.8 |
| Agricultural production | minus6.0 | plus2.0 | minus0.5 | plus2.0 |
| Investments | minus11.0 | plus1.6 | plus5.0 | plus3.0 |
| Private consumption | plus1.3 | plus2.0 | plus2.8 | plus1.7 |
| Consumer prices | plus7.0 | plus5.3 | plus8.6 | plus15.0 |
| Real income increase | plus1.3 | plus1.9 | minus0.6 | minus3.0 |
| Foreign trade: | | | | |
| exports | minus9.7 | plus1.5 | plus8.0 | plus7.0 |
| imports | plus12.7 | plus10.9 | plus7.0 | plus5.0 |
| Balance of goods and services (in billions of dollars) | minus0.5 | minus1.4 | minus1.1 | minus1.0 |
| Net debts (in billions of dollars) | | | 6.4 | 7.8 |

Austrian Foreign Trade With Hungary [table heading]

| | Austrian exports (in millions of schillings) | Changes in percent | Austrian imports (in millions of schillings) | Changes in percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1985 | 9,162 | plus 31.6 | 8,501 | plus 4.8 |
| 1986 | 7,805 | minus 14.8 | 6,648 | minus 21.8 |
| 1987 | 6,624 | minus 15.1 | 6,178 | minus 7.1 |

## Nagy Queried on SZOT Policies, Plans

*LD1410110188 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 13 Oct 88*

[From the "New Reflector" program]

[Excerpts] Along with dropping living standards, further delays in wage reform, inflation rising higher than promised, working people continually feel the lack of successful protection and representation of their interests. The membership proposed—I quote the opinion of the Csongrad County trade union council—SZOT [National

Trade Union Council] should change its style; it should not ask, in a general way, but make demands in the name of the workers.

The experiences of the past period prove that the government is not prepared to take into account the requests and proposals of the trade unions when making decisions, and always pursues its own point of view. Last year, 150,000 people left the unions, and organizations outside SZOT have appeared and are being organized. [passage omitted]

The membership wants real renewal, radical change, and there is not much time for implementation before the national conference of trade unions in November. This is why we asked Dr Sandor Nagy, general secretary of SZOT, to the studio.

[Presenter] Do you accept the above as criticism of your work?

[Nagy] If I have to reply briefly, I would say many real criticisms are formulated in what you said in your introduction. Regarding the reduction of membership figures, truly, our membership figures have dropped. A reduction of this measure, in today's situation, can be evaluated in a variety of ways from the point of view of an organization. Even today, I would put the emphasis on the fact that 93.5 percent of workers are trade union members, so their confidence is still apparent. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] The ever-increasing number of organizations outside SZOT are a factual criticism, and there are the economic companies, the forms of self-management, from which it seems that workers' interest representation is squeezed out.

[Nagy] Yes, these are two very important problems you mentioned. Concretely the increasing number of organizations means, of course—at this moment we know of two. I at least know of two: the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers, and the film workers trade union.

[Presenter] And there are the journalists, teachers of the handicapped.

[Nagy] Yes I know there are such endeavors among journalists, teachers of the handicapped, certain higher education sectors, and others, too. I think a part of this is criticism of our work. Another part derives from the social and political processes which can be seen in other areas today, too, which we are now experiencing in Hungary. There is presumably also the view that with only organizational thinking, organizational change, the chances of asserting interests can also be improved, which of course will only be decided by experience. [passage omitted] As for the new economic companies, currently we can only make assumptions because we do not have experience. No doubt it is very significant how workers' representation and trade union rights develop, how they change in comparison with each other, but I see the fundamental issue—and this has been decided—in that the organizational right of the trade unions, and the practice of that right cannot be violated, and this holds true for the new companies as well. This is the base from which we must start.

[Presenter] Let us look at relations with the government. The government stand is that a comprehensive wage and social policy reform is not possible, the government does not completely compensate for the price increase, it does not guarantee the preservation of social benefits, the preservation of the net real value of supplements and overtime payments, and it is not prepared to raise the pensions of those under 70. What can you do, or say, about this?

[Nagy] Yes. These are all really very grave issues and problems, which were the subject of talks at the latest meeting between SZOT representatives and the government. As could be seen from news reports at the time, we managed to make a very modest advance, a modest step on some issues.

[Presenter] Was it in connection with this that you said the day before yesterday, at a workers' meeting in Kaposvar, that there are one or two issues on which you are only on nodding terms with the government?

[Nagy] I did not say this exactly, for of course we are on nodding terms. Moreover, relations are better than this. There is a work relation, a correct work relation of merit between the government and the trade unions. I said that as for the content of the ideas and standpoints concerning 1989 and the later period, unfortunately, even nodding terms are not the case on certain points. So, these standpoints are very far from each other, not just concerning the evaluation of the processes of 1988, which you have just listed, but also with regard to the 1989 plans. The differences obviously derive partly from the evaluation of the situation and from the assessment of possible steps. The essence of our standpoint is that obviously this country must continue to shoulder serious burdens, for this is its real economic state, this is the extent of its debt stock. But one should evaluate very seriously whether the burdens should be borne more forcefully or exclusively by the population, or whether other possessors of income, for example the budget, should bear a greater proportion of the burdens.

[Presenter] A recurring question from our viewers concerns the oppressive burden of the tax system. It is a cliche to repeat that it hinders performance and quickens impoverishment. Can you say something encouraging here?

[Nagy] [Passage omitted] We think that the tax pressures must be eased at all costs, because this tax system has turned out to be so severe— unfortunately, I must say, without taking into account all prior opinions on the tax system's effect. Its untenable nature in certain areas is

quite apparent. This is a difficult situation. I do not dispute that the government did not have too much time, but I do dispute that this new tax system had to be introduced at all costs on 1 January 1988. The trade unions had proposals in this regard not just for a time delay, but also for a constructive bridging solution. I am very sorry that the government officials did not consider this at the time.

[Presenter] Our viewers also ask whether there will be unemployment benefits next year, and in what measure. And who at all is unemployed, a person who had a job but was dismissed, or a person who has never been able to find a suitable workplace?

[Nagy] These are very important questions. As to whether there will be unemployment benefits, I can answer with great certainty: yes. The preparations for this are under way. The State Office for Wages and Labor is taking care of this matter and naturally the trade unions have a strong interest in this. As for the question of to whom this applies, and the sum, this is the subject of debate. [passage omitted]

It is our standpoint that a system must be worked out which is capable of giving some kind of answer to the problems of the potentially unemployed—that is, not just those who have lost their jobs, but also young people who have not been able to get jobs. Otherwise, a great number of young people and young lives may break, and not only is it not in the interests of this society, it cannot sustain such a thing either.

[Presenter] Can organizational, personnel changes be expected from the November national conference?

[Nagy] The national conference of trade unions which we are planning for the end of November, beginning of December—the precise date is not yet set—must, in my view, deal primarily with the program of the coming period, the possible amendment of the basic rule, the main tasks of the coming period, and the summing up of our interest representation standpoints in the most important issues. I am saying this in advance because I think that at the council sessions in the country which will precede the national conference, it is advisable to solve any personnel questions which we see today and can solve, so that the national conference need not be burdened with this.

[Presenter] And the organization, the hierarchy? Will the influence of the apparatuses be reduced, and will the membership really decide all leadership issues.

[Nagy] This is our intention, absolutely. [passage omitted] It is very important that processes start here, that these processes be irreversible, point in the right direction, and that we have the force, partly the patience, but mainly the force and energy to see this through. The national conference can open the way for this, but in my view it is also necessary that in the appropriate time, and probably not in 1991 when the next conference would be due, but significantly earlier, perhaps at the end of 1989—but I do not want to speak of dates here—and with the help of a congressional electoral cycle, this trade union movement should be able to be renewed both in its organizational and in its personnel makeup.

## Walesa Says State Lacks Political Will

*LD2710211588 Hamburg DPA in German 1836 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Gdansk (DPA)—Lech Walesa, chairman of the banned trade union Solidarity, today accused the state leadership of lacking the political will for meaningful talks "at the roundtable." At a news conference in Gdansk, Prof Andrzej Stelmachowski, who is conducting prelimianry consultations on Walesa's behalf, demanded a statement of intent from the state as to its willingness to discuss trade union pluralism. He fears that if the roundtable, which was originally planned for mid-October, breaks down, then this could lead to new strikes.

According to reports from circles close to Walesa, the authorities continue to refuse to allow advisers Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik to participate in the Solidarity delegation. In a statement Walesa protested that without legalizing Solidarity there could be no agreement, which is so necessary for Poland. "The leadership appeared to have understood that. It is obvious, however, that the word Solidarity continues to stick in their throats," he said. Solidarity is prepared to sit down at the roundtable but this is only meaningful if the other side is willing to solve the most important problems. One cannot lead the population down the garden path. "We can and should come to the roundtable, but not at all costs."

According to reports from Gdansk, yesterday's talks between party chief Wojciech Jaruzelski and the primate, Jozef Cardinal Glemp, did not bring any solution to the bogged-down negotiations. People in Solidarity circles are especially concerned about a speech Jaruzelski made to workers in Ursus in which he excluded the possibility of trade union pluralism in the foreseeable future. The media is trying to blame the delay on Walesa. The press and television continue to show the giant roundtable which has already been set up in Jablonna Castle near Warsaw.

## Walesa Doubts Roundtable Will Take Place

*AU2710202688 Paris AFP in English 2005 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Oct 27 (AFP)—Lech Walesa, leader of Poland's outlawed Solidarity trade union, expressed doubts Thursday that round-table talks promised by the government with opposition leaders would take place.

Meanwhile, Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski held talks with the Roman Catholic Primate of Poland in an apparent effort to defuse tension. Cardinal Jozef Glemp, who met General Jaruzelski at Gniezno, western Poland, has been known to have considerable influence with Mr. Walesa.

Mr. Walesa told journalists he was ready to open the round-table talks "immediately."

"However nothing indicates that the government is ready," he said.

Although Politburo member Jozef Czyrek had told Andrzej Stelmachowski, who represented the opposition at meetings to prepare the round table, that it could begin on Saturday or Monday, Mr. Walesa said this seemed impossible because of conditions set by the government for the talks.

"The government's stand has become more radical," he said.

He said the authorities were trying to make the opposition shoulder the responsibility for the failure of the talks. He said the government had objected to the size and composition of the eight-man delegation picked by Mr. Walesa to attend the round table.

Two of them—Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron—were described as unacceptable by the government, but Mr. Walesa has refused to exclude them.

Mr. Walesa said Solidarity had never objected to any members of the government delegation "although it includes people whom we do not like."

"At the start, the government appeared to understand our views, but now, it seems they want to scuttle the question at the round table," he said. "We have never hidden that our aim was the legalization of Solidarity."

There were signs that workers around the country were ready to start new strikes "at any time", he said.

"Personally I don't want strikes, I think the moment has not come for them," Mr. Walesa said. "But that's the atmosphere there is in certain parts of the country."

The worsening atmosphere comes after a period in which Mr. Walesa had been enjoying renewed favour with the government.

The official press, which regularly describes Mr. Michnik and Mr. Kuron as "professional trouble-makers," has shied away from personal attacks on Mr. Walesa.

## Interior Minister Denies Strikers Penalized

*LD2710195288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, literally a minute ago we received the following item in the studio:

In connection with the reservations contained in a letter from the Secretariat of the Polish Episcopate, which expresses concern over the fact that matters concerning the job security and personal safety of strikers have not been settled so far, General Kiszczak ordered that data

concerning the employment, social and welfare, and legal situation of the persons named in the letter be checked urgently and thoroughly.

The information gathered as a result of that has been conveyed to the Secretariat of the Polish Episcopate. It shows that no political repressions have been applied against the organizers of and participants in the August strikes, and Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak's appeals are being gradually implemented. However, this process should not be hurried, without sufficient consideration given to treating each complicated matter individually. The laws in force in Poland cannot be evaded or violated.

## Minister Kiszczak: Strikers To Be Rehired

*LD2710234788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] PAP has passed on two texts: Information from the Polish Episcopate Press Office and a statement by the Internal Affairs Ministry press spokesman.

The first of these documents reports that on 17 October the Secretariat of the Episcopate sent a letter to General Czeslaw Kiszczak in which unease was expressed over the lack of settlement of matters associated with worker and personal security in relation to participants in the strikes that took place in Poland in August and September.

During the meeting between Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa on 31 August and 15 September, with the participation of church representatives, this problem was raised and assurances were obtained from the interlocutors representing the state that both personal and worker safety will be respected. Delegations and letters coming to the Secretarat are proof that this problem is not being solved, especially in Silesia and in Stalowa Wola. This is why a letter was sent to Gen Kiszczak.

The statement by the Internal Affairs Ministry spokesman states: Implementing in full his declaration of goodwill and as an organizer of the roundtable meeting, Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak has turned, in accordance with the industry and labor mnisters, to the managements of enterprises with an appeal that the persons fired for striking be rehired, which would restore their entitlement to defer basic military service.

Gen Kiszczak has also told the prosector-general to discontinue or terminate through nonrepressive solutions, if the laws allow for this, proceedings taken against strike organizers. The mass media have publicized these appeals. In connection with the reservations contained in the Secretarat's letter, Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak has ordered an urgent examination of the current situation, in labor, and social, and legal terms, of people personally named in the letter.

The recommendations and information gathered as a result of this instruction were passed on to the Secretariat. They prove that no political repressions are being applied in relation to the organizers of and participants in the August strikes and that the appeals of Gen Kiszczak are being successively implemented. This process ought not, however, to be accelerated without sufficient consideration when tackling each individual case, and it should not involve the circumvention or violation of Polish law.

Over and above this, it is necessary to state that all the addressees of Gen Kiszczak's directives—including prosecutors offices, the managements of self-managing work enterprises, communities, and other associations—are fully autonomous in decisionmaking.

## Government Makes Statement on Roundtable

*LD2810000388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Statement by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban given on 27 October; read by announcer]

[Text] Last Tuesday I announced on behalf of the authorities that the roundtable was waiting. It was merely necessary to arrange matters regarding procedure, to clear up misunderstandings concerning the composition, and to begin as soon as possible. A group of former Solidarity activists have declined direct talks with representatives of the authorities; the talks are designed to eliminate the existing differences and to agree on the debate procedure. The Poles awaiting roundtable talks received this refusal with surprise. The activists of the former Solidarity trade union today publicized a statement in which they attempted to shift the responsibility for the delay onto the authorities. They say that by making reservations about the participation in the roundtable by persons from the former KOR [Workers Defense Committee] circle, Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, the authorities are intervening in the personal composition of the other side's representation. These reservations concern only two out of several dozen people.

In his well-known statement of 26 September this year General Czeslaw Kiszczak clearly invited the part of the opposition that respected the constitutional principles andwas ready to work within the legal framework to a roundtable. Therefore, he proposed a plan of national accord which is not possible with activists of a confrontational orientation striving to destabilize the state. The former Solidarity leaders accepted this formula constituting the platform of talks; this acceptance was expressed in the beginning of preparatory talks. From Where does this sudden turnabout come? Where does bringing people to the roundtable whose participation runs counter to the goals of accord originate? For when the goals are antagonistic, it is difficult to speak of accord. The public is expecting a compromise and not a sterile arguement from the roundtable.

The persons grouped around Lech Walesa also accepted the assumption proposed by Gen Kiszczak that the talks are taking place without preliminary conditions and can concern any subject, including the Polish model in the trade union movement.

Now our potential partners have issued a statement in Gdansk saying that without the authorities declaring in advance their agreement to the introduction of the formula of union pluralism which they defined, there is no sense in seeking accord on ways to improve the country's economic situation, pluralism of associations, a new political structure for parliament, or a reform of the state authorities. That is, preliminary conditions are being set. Our interlocutors accepted the principle of sitting down at the table without preliminary conditions and now they have suddenly changed their position; they are saying that without their conditions being met they do not even want to talk. This is not an appropriate method. The authorities, after all, are proposing that it should be precisely at the roundtable that the whole structure of Poland's political, state, public, and economic life is discussed. It is also against this background that trade union problems, which are only a fragment in history, can be considered.

Finally, the group from Gdansk declares that it will not sit at the roundtable because the authorities promised not to take measures against the participants in the strikes, while not all of those who left work were accepted back at work. Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak promised to appeal to all appropriate institutions not to take measures against the strikers. In the great majority of cases this announcement has been followed. In some cases matters have not yet been settled. Everything must take place in accordance with the law and hence the delay, since individual cases and procedures vary. Therefore, this promise is being fulfilled, but in a manner which is in accordance with the regulations and with due respect for the powers of the prosecutor and the managers of self-managing enterprises.

The persons who have always demanded that the law be strictly observed, since they believed it was being bent to their disadvantage, are now demanding that the law be violated when their colleagues' interests are involved. We have an absurd situation. The authorities are saying: Let us sit at the table without preliminary conditions and taboo subjects as a group of people with differing views but are such that they can be brought closer together to achieve accord. The other side is also saying: Let us sit at the table. However, the other side no longer wants to respect the principles of the roundtable, which it had earlier approved.

We propose: Let us begin talks on the mutually approved plan. The best evidence of willingness to come to an accord is at least to attempt to communicate. Without this goodwill instead of the roundtable we will have a prolonged exchange of accusations and polemics. That is not what the people await.

## More on 17 Oct Council of Ministers Session

### Jaruzelski Speech

*AU2010164188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 88 p 3*

[Report on speech by State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 17 October inaugural session of the new Council of Ministers under Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski in Warsaw]

[Text] Once again I wish to congratulate the new chairman of the Council of Ministers and the members of his cabinet on taking up their responsible mission, said W. Jaruzelski. May your efforts be successful. That is our great hope and chance.

In February 1981, the government that I led was called a government of salvation, a government of the last chance. Today the drama of those days is behind us, which proves that the road we took, though full of difficulties and not free of various types of mistakes and irregularities, was generally correct, Wojciech Jaruzelski said. In that case, how should the present government be called? It is a government of great chance. At the same time, one must realize that the stakes are not only domestic, but also international. For this is also a chance to renew socialism and direct its reform, as well as contribute to the development of East-West relations. Therefore, we must conclude that a historic measure of responsibility is facing the present Council of Ministers and placing very difficult tasks upon it.

Is the performance of these tasks feasible? Is it possible to take advantage of this chance? I think so, said W. Jaruzelski. It is made possible by the composition of the new government, which also includes members of previous cabinets, in other words, people with considerable experience. At the same time this is a qualitatively new government which includes many people who also have valuable experience and successes, but who have never held such reponsible positions before. I am convinced that this permits a fresh, modern, and original approach toward the problems that have to be solved. It is also a government which meets social expectations, although these expectations, as we know, are capricious. However, the majority of our society is waiting for changes, waiting for something specific to happen. We hope that this will enable people to look with greater hope to the future and shake off their apathy, pessimism, and feeling of helplessness. This is also a great chance.

In my view, the government's actions should be, first, bold, militant, and unconventional. They should overcome bureaucratic obstacles and populistic demagogy. Second—they should be calculated activities, but not in a dilatory sense—risk and boldness must become a conscious choice for the sake of greater profit and lesser evil. Third, they must be clear, understandable activities in form and content, involving genuine contact with society, and they must reach down to society's feelings

and grievances. Fourth, and most important, the government's actions must be effective, since this is the only thing that counts in the end. The point is above all to win support for the government's policy by means of concrete facts and achievements, whereby effectiveness should be felt quickly.

Today, time is not just money. Time also means "to be or not to be." The sluggishness and procrastination of some of the previous government's ministries, which we criticized at the Seventh and Eighth PZPR Plenums, have cost us dear.

But irrespective of all plans and programs, it seems necessary to create a specific kind of scenario, a schedule of activities of the new government, Wojciech Jaruzelski said. This schedule must include socially expected and socially approved decisions and actions. Above all, the government must perceive strategic problems, but it must also eliminate from daily life everything that upsets and enrages people and makes life difficult. This makes it necessary to improve activity and imposes the need for all administrative bodies to discharge their duties consistently. The effects of major decisions are only felt after a certain time, whereas solutions which cause grief are felt every day. Therefore, it is necessary to combat various distortions more effectively, especially those that still exist in offices, public services, and in the retail trade.

Nevertheless, strategy of action remains the key issue. The idea is to reach solutions that permit greater economic effectiveness on the one hand and help attain the humanitarian goals of our system and make it more attractive on the other. So far we have been incapable of attaining this balance. The new government should do everything it can to do so. Society and lower levels of authority must feel that they are well guided. Even in difficult times, they should feel that a given decision is justified and that requirements are correct and can bring results. It must also be remembered that there is a danger of attempts to hinder the new government, various types of provocations. A repeat of history would be very dangerous. We are fully and deeply convinced as to the need for accord. This is not just a temporary tactic. It is a conscious precept that has accompanied us for years, an inviolable line of policy. We will proceed in this direction regardless of all the difficulties, said W. Jaruzelski.

Speaking in the Sejm, Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski correctly observed that the government must attain strength by, on the one hand, struggling for and winning public approval, and on the other hand by being consistent in action and law-abiding. In these questions, the government's attitude and actions must be firm and unequivocal. The government must also consistently eliminate everything that impedes its activities and undermines faith in the administration. This includes, among other things, eliminating organizational excesses, economizing on budgetary expenditures, and pursuing a proper cadres policy. We have many good, highly qualified, and efficient people in the administration. However, a penetrating review of the capabilities and possibilities of those who implement the reform and economic policy in ministries and enterprises is called for.

In the new government's foreign policy, W. Jaruzelski continued, it is necessary to reaffirm the pro-reform orientation, political determination, and foreign policy line of Poland as a good and interesting partner for some and a valuable and reliable ally for others.

Referring to the coalitional method of power, W. Jaruzelski stressed that within the party there is a desire to reinforce the coalition so that it can be fully authentic and based on mutual respect and trust. He quoted from his Sejm speech whereby the party cannot issue the government with a political insurance policy concern the interpretation of decisions, but will support the Council of Ministers' strategic paths of action that stem from the programmatic line of the PZPR. W. Jaruzelski also underlined the importance of government cooperation with the trade unions and self-managing work forces, as well as the need to look after the interests of society and counteract various types of parochialism.

Finally, he said he was convinced that this new government, a government of a great, historic chance, would perform its tasks successfully. That is my wish to you, he said, declaring the support of the party leadership and State Council.

### Rakowski Speech

*AU2010154188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 88 p 3*

[PAP report on Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's speech at the inauguration session of the new Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 17 October]

[Text] We are beginning our normal work. We will be evaluated by the fruits of it. Our team must be impregnated with the spirit of complete mutual trust. That is what Premier M. Rakowski said at the beginning of his addresses to the first session of the new Council of Ministers.

We must ask ourselves some basic questions, M. Rakowski continued. We must ask whether it is possible to effectively overcome our crisis and whether the present lines of our economic reform are correct. My reply to these questions is in the affirmative, he said, otherwise I would not have assumed the premiership. It is not the reform, which is a means with which to achieve our goal—our people's improved living conditions—that continues to put off economic balance and to hinder the process of routing inflation and of eliminating economic inertia. It is a lack of resolution in realizing the economic reform that is responsible for those difficulties. That inertia is a result of the fact that there is still too much

rigidity is our activities and too much of our having gotten used to negative phenomena. The "pillar-to-post" concept of life and the readiness to come to terms with the difficulties produced by the crisis continue to hinder the normalization of economic processes.

Only tangible and measurable improvements, M. Rakowski stressed, can eliminate our people's feelings of hopelessness. I think, he said, that it is possible to eliminate such feelings and to expand the area of social and individual militancy.

The ways to do that must be detailed by the plan for consolidating the national economy in 1989-90. We know what our most urgent tasks are and we must determine how they are to be accomplished. We cannot afford to be lenient and to agree with the arguments of those who represent parochial interests of various groups and communities. Those parochial interests have no place in and cannot be articulated at the sessions of the Council of Ministers, M. Rakowski said.

Efforts to restructure our economy must be radicalized and accelerated. We must place much greater stress on increasing the flow of goods and on reducing the consumption of materials and energy. We plan to curb price hikes, and that is why we must crucially increase the flow of goods, including food. Investments must be made in preferential sectors of the economy, that is, mainly in the sectors that produce consumer goods, especially farm and food articles. Taxation policy and manpower and wage policy must be adjusted to the restructuring program, and the elimination of weak and inefficient plants and economic institutions as well as intermediate echelons of management should be accelerated. All this is to be done, because eliminating the monopolization of the economy is part and parcel of restructuring.

Housing construction should be promoted with the help of material resources taken away from halted investments, and systems should be created to stimulate efforts to increase the number of apartments under construction and of institutions concerned with housing construction and to change legal and organizational rules that hinder bold initiatives.

No government has any chance of defying the laws of the economy. Since the requirements of the modern economy indicate that the economy must be restructured before any progress can be achieved, then, regardless of various resolutions and decisions passed by various work forces, we must eliminate certain enterprises. Of course, we must be aware of social considerations in this connection, but we must not retreat from economic activities that are necessary.

We must not maintain weak enterprises just because we are afraid of creating temporary surpluses of manpower in the local labor markets. While we do not profess that unemployment is necessary, we must do everything to help eliminate ineffective employment in the economy and administration. We will support differences in wages if they are justified by work results and we will eliminate the practice of granting under pressure various individual concessions and preferences. We must show strong will and manly resolution in this regard.

We must search for original solutions and summon enough courage to break sanctified traditions. Of the multitude of nontraditional solutions we should select those which are in line with the realistic evaluation of the situation.

We must halt the degradation of the natural environment, the protection of which should be closely geared to the program for the transformation of the economy. We must not begin investments that help to pollute the atmosphere and to poison water. Efforts to prevent the destruction of the natural environment must be one of the elements that influence the decisions relating to the possible elimination of enterprises and plants. M. Rakowski also said that the slogan that While we build new things we must not forget the old things applies to more than just housing construction.

The increased flow of consumer goods, which is one of the government's basic tasks, M. Rakowski continued, will go hand in hand with new principles of price - income policy. In line with these principles, those people can expect better incomes who want to work effectively and who will make greater contributions toward the national income. Poor workers have to reckon with a drop in their living standards, but the level of consumption and real incomes of the people who live on allowances will be protected. Improvements for everyone will be possible if the state of the economy improves.

Having outlined his program and addressing members of his cabinet, M. Rakowski said that the government is short of time and that it should bear this in mind every day and every hour.

Next, M. Rakowski presented the principles of the internal organization of government work and announced that the sessions of the Council of Ministers will be held once in 2 weeks at the most and will not last more than 3 hours. The Council of Ministers must not deal with petty matters, because action strategy should be its primary concern. That is why the quality of the materials submitted to it for consideration should be improved and the process of interdepartmental coordination should be accelerated. Such a character of government work also calls for increasing the independence and responsibility of the individual members of the government. This should also go hand in hand with the fiscal independence of ministers and other budgetary units. In this connection M. Rakowski asked the minister of finance to urgently prepare proposals for the necessary solutions in this regard and to devise measures to curb the area of the budget through changing the fiscal system of many institutions which are able operate on the principles of economic accounting.

The premier said: "We are establishing a Council of Ministers Economics Committee and a Sociopolitical Committee to improve the work of the Council of Ministers.

"The Economics Committee will become our general staff organ, which will coordinate operations in the state economic sphere while preserving the principle of ministerial independence. The committee will release the entire government and the premier from the burden of having to go into the operational aspects of economic decisions in detail. The chairman of the committee, Vice Premier Ireneusz Sekula, will be provided with a separate, specialized institution that will oversee the implementation of decisions concerning the economy. This does not mean that we will be increasing the number of posts. On the contrary, we must take sensible and resolute action aimed at reducing the number of people employed in ministries and central offices.

"The Sociopolitical Committee will be a government organ that will ensure the adoption of operational decisions that will facilitate the implementation of state social policy and information activity.

"We realize that the main tasks facing us pertain to the supply of foodstuffs, housing, the marketplace, and exports, and we must start work fast on restructuring the economy in such a way that it will be possible to accomplish the tasks in a rapid and consistent fashion. Changes to the economic and financial system are among the most pressing matters that we have to deal with. First, we must eliminate elements of excess in state fiscal policy and be resolute about reducing the number of taxes that presently exist.

"Enterprises should not have to pay more than two taxes on the profits available for distribution. One of the taxes should be a tax on earnings, but the tax on supernumerary pay has not achieved any of the things that it was meant to do. So, 2 weeks from now, I would like to ask the finance minister to propose and submit to the Council of Ministers Economic Committee a new set of taxation principles and a new simplified concept for determining the funds available for wages. We should also extend the duration period for the operation of economic principles. In formulating new solutions, we must adopt the principle that such solutions will remain in force for no less than 2 years. There must also be changes to policies concerning credits, subsidies, and concessions. These are also tasks for the finance minister, and then for the Council of Ministers Economics Committee. We will not be giving preferential status to particular commodities, but to the way in which operations are conducted. The plans for the demonopolization of trade in agricultural produce being prepared by the minister of agriculture, forestry, and the food economy have to be modified, and I would like this to be done quickly, because we should create an opportunity for all those who want to produce, procure, process, and sell all kinds of agricultural produce and engage in the buying and selling of surpluses in border areas.

"Second, all economic units, irrespective of what form of ownership they come under, should enjoy favorable conditions for operating. If, for example, we want to provide subsidies for the production of meat, then we should provide subsidies to everybody who wants to accept ration cards. We should also cover the costs of producers who want to deliver goods to large conurbations. Material incentives might prove to be necessary in order to raise livestock levels."

"Third, there is an urgent need to make adjustments to the pensions and benefits system for farmers. We have to remove some of the obstacles to transfers of land that have been created by the current insurance system and quickly eliminate some of the other irregularities that exist. These changes have to be incorporated into the principles underlying the reorganization of social policy, and the minister of labor and social policy should submit draft amendments to the law before the end of November.

"Fourth, we have to increase the value of savings held in banks. The National Savings Bank has to start work on a plan for this as quickly as possible, so that it will be possible to carry out this operation at the beginning of next year. The aim of this is to slow down spending and to preserve the real value of savings, which should increase confidence in the zloty.

"Fifth, we have to move away from excessive regulations, which place too many curbs and restrictions on initiative."

At this point, the premier turned to his ministers and asked them to pay particular attention to the principle that regulations should not create more barriers than those already contained in current legislation.

Finally, Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said that the questions that he had outlined do not represent the whole range of tasks for the near future. A full program will be contained in the Plan for the Consolidation of the Economy. The premier said that he was counting on the initiative of all the members of the Council of Ministers as well as on their ability to quickly notice irregularities and eliminate them. He recalled that the speech that he made to the Sejm represented guidelines for the entire government, and he called on the members of the cabinet to draw conclusions from it for actual practice. The premier pointed out that the government would start work in a very complicated political situation. The sources of conflicts had not disappeared. So, the focus of government interest must concentrate on the welfare of workers and working people generally and on their needs and perceptions. Another constant task is the struggle against bureaucratism, insensitive behavior on the part of officials, and law-breaking.

The premier said: "We are starting work in a situation in which there is considerable disorder, a lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of many organs of government and collectives, and the existence of a tendency to put things off until tomorrow.

"It has to be borne in mind that if we do not wage a consistent struggle against these phenomena, then our government will not meet expectations and will have to step down in disgrace. However, we are capable of satisfying realistic social expectations."

**Rakowski at 1st Ministers Economic Group Meeting**
*AU2010173188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 88 p 3*

[PAP report: "The First Session of the Council of Ministers Economic Committee"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers Economic Committee inaugurated its work in the presence of Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, who stressed that the committee holds the reins of the state's economic policy, and that this is why the committee assumes great responsibilities. M. Rakowski said he hoped that the committe's work will ease the commitments of the Council of Ministers and will cut the duration of its sessions, which will merely give a legal sanction to the committee's decisions.

Vice Premier Ireneusz Sekula, chairman of the committee, handed over appointment documents to its members. Vice Premiers Janusz Patorski and Kazimierz Olesiak, who is also minister of agriculture, forestry, and food economy, will be the committee's deputy chairmen. Its members will be Andrzej Wroblewski, minister of finance; Mieczyslaw Wilczek, minister of industry; Janusz Kaminski, minister of transport, navigation, and communications; Marcin Nurowski, minister of domestic trade; Jozef Koziol, minister of environmental protection and natural resources; Zbigniew Grabowski, minister in charge of the Office for the Advancement and Application of Science and Technology; Dominik Jastrzebski, minister of foreign economic cooperation; Bogumil Ferensztajn, minister of land use management and construction; Stanislaw Dlugosz of the Planning Commission; and Jerzy Szreter of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy.

Zbigniew Borawski is the secretary of the committee, which will also employ Michal Janiszewski, minister in charge of the Council of Ministers Office, and Zbigniew Pakula, chairman of the Polish National Bank.

The working part of the first session of the committee was devoted to work regulations and to subjects planned for the committee's coming sessions. Those regulations provide for a team performance and for the ministers' respect for the committee's joint decisions. Very soon, the committee will deal with economic and fiscal plans and with the 1989 draft budget. The committee found it necessary to postpone the government's presentation of modifications to the law on planning. The final decision on this is to be made by the Sejm, the Presidium of which has already given a favorable opinion.

Bills on economic activities and on companies based on foreign capital have been withdrawn from processing in the Sejm. We want to have another look at those bills and to improve them as necessary. The announcement that the economic parameters determining the performance of enterprises will be more stable as of 1989 was an important feature of the committee's inaugural session. Those parameters should be in force for at least 2 years, but in the future efforts will be made to make them last for at least 5 years.

**Sekula on Government Economic Committee's Role**
*LD1910234088 Warsaw PAP in English 2113 GMT 19 Oct 88*

["Interview with Vice-Premier Sekula"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—In his statement for PAP, Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula who last Monday became head of the government Economic Committee defined the role which the committee is expected to play in the implementation of the reform.

"The setting up of the committee is closely related to the adopted model of the government's work. The Council of Ministers should become the organ which decides in the matters of the strategic character, undertakes problems of the basic nature, whereas the matters pertaining to the present-day economic policy should be undertaken by the government Economic Committee which is composed of ministers concerned," Sekula said.

"The government Economic Committee has a particular role to play in the period of implementing the reform, when the former command and quota methods ceased to operate and a new model of management based on the laws of the market has not been put into life so far.

"Therefore it is necessary to transitionally apply means which would substitute the pure market mechanism. Formerly, the intervention measures consisted in the introduction of small but frequent changes applied alongside general mechanisms already operating under the reform.

"At present we want to interfere mainly through economic measures. Along with the development and consolidation of market mechanisms in the economy the interferences should gradually die out. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The vice-premier said that the hitherto government committee for the realization of the economic reform had been dissolved by virtue of a decision taken by the Council of Ministers. A major part of its functions,

particularly these which concern the current course of the reform will be taken over by the Economic Committee while the model solutions will continue to be worked out by the Commission for the Economic Reform headed by the premier.

"The model of Premier Rakowski's government assumes that it will not be composed of representatives of various lobbies, economic or social structures and sectors which would try to gain the utmost of profits for themselves. Our government is a team which will realize the concepts and solutions adopted at meetings of the Council of Ministers simultaneously, consistently, hand in hand, having in mind common objectives," Sekula went on to say.

"The Economic Committee deals with the country's economy. During the meetings forwarded are individual problems but in the context of the main goals of the government policy. This gives an opportunity to choose from the point of view of these goals and not of particular groups.

"Among subjects to be undertaken by the committee shortly, the matter of greatest importance is the setting up of economic rules of the game for the year 1989, or rather for the years 1989 and 1990," the vice-premier said.

"For the first time ever we want to stabilize them for at least two years. If we succeed, in future the solutions will be stable for the period of five years. The point is mainly in the economic and financial system of enterprises, in this the system of taxes including the wages tax, which should be constructed in such a way as to encourage the growth of production.

"We also have to prepare a set of interrelated plans with the leading role given to the plan of economic consolidation. It will determine the principal goals and the ways of their realization. It should be combined with the corrections in the national socio-economic plan which, in line with the law on planning, should be approved by the Sejm.

"Finally, the third element of the set is the Central Annual Plan which as a part of the former one must be compatible with its corrections. This is related to the preparation of the state budget and the fiscal plan for 1989. The whole package should be ready by December 10 so that still this year the Sejm be able to start debate on it. In January the drafts should assume the form of binding documents.

"Other issues include the assumptions of the price-income policy, the balance of citizens' incomes and spendings, a major problem of financial deposits and credits and their interest rates. In this domain, the solutions are combined with the need to eliminate the main phantom of our economy, that is inflation, with a view to reducing it to the one-digit level.

"Urgent is also the problem of unblocking initiatives and lifting barriers which until now have impeded the economic activity. The Sejm suspended its work on two laws 'on undertaking economic activity' and 'on companies with foreign capital'. This followed a motion from the new premier as the government intends to introduce many corrections to the too modest, in our opinion, original drafts. At the same time we want them passed and binding as of January 1."

## Ministers' Economic Committee Meets 20 Oct

### Adopts Demonopolization Act

*LD2110102788 Warsaw PAP in English 0033 GMT 21 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—At today's session the Economic Committee operating at the Council of Ministers adopted the assumptions of demonopolization of procurement of and trade in agricultural produce and foodstuffs as well as corresponding draft legal acts, worked out by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy.

This means that the hitherto limitations in the system of contract purchasing, procurement and production of basic agricultural products and foodstuffs will be cancelled, effective as of January 1, 1989.

The rights of state, cooperative and private enterprises will be made equal as concerns providing market with meat and its products (also including rationing) and with corn and flour products.

For understandable reasons demonopolization of trade in agricultural products and foodstuffs has not covered only such domains as growing of tobacco, poppy and hemp and the production of tobacco products and vodkas.

The made decisions constitute only a stage in activities leading to a balanced free market of foodstuffs. It is a turning-point already as the to-date monopolized system of procurement of and trade in these products will disappear.

These activities will result in the formation and development of competitiveness, further expansion of craft and small-scale processing enterprises, possible improved quality of products, simplified trade and limited transport as well as increased supply of foodstuffs.

### Views Trade Demonopolization

*AU2410144388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 88 p 2*

[PAP report: "First Decisions by the Council of Ministers Economic Committee—An End to the Monopoly Over the Procurement of Agricultural Produce"]

[Excerpt] At its 20 October session, the Council of Ministers Economic Committee adopted the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industry's "plans to demonopolize the procurement and trade of agricultural produce and food commodities," together with accompanying draft legislation.

This means that the present restrictions governing the manufacture, procurement, and trade of basic agricultural produce and food commodities will be lifted as of 1 January 1989. State, cooperative, and private enterprises will have equal rights to supply the market with meat and meat products (including ration quotas), as well as cereals and cereal-based commodities.

Every producer of and trader with these goods will be able to obtain agricultural supplies directly from private farmers on the basis of unimpeded mutual contracts, because the present monopoly of the supply of agricultural resources enjoyed by some enterprises will be abolished and equal conditions for the conclusion of contracts will be created.

For obvious reasons, this demonopolization of the supply of agricultural resources does not apply to tobacco, poppy, and cannabis cultivation, nor to the manufacture of tobacco products and vodkas.

The adopted system of trade with meat and cereals destined for bread will guarantee that large conurbations receive adequate supplies thereof and that sufficient reserves are stockpiled.

These decisions are merely one stage in activity aimed at attaining a balanced and free food commodity market. It is a breakthrough because the present monopolies over the manufacture and trade of these goods will disappear. As a result, competition will emerge and develop. Small-scale industry and small processing plants will be further developed. The quality of products may improve, trade will be simplified, and shipments of goods may be reduced. There may also be an increase in food supplies [passage omitted]

## Economic Official on Trade Demonopolization

*AU2410145588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 88 p 2*

[Interview with Deputy Premier Kazimierz Olesiak by PAP reporter Franciszek Bobula: "The First Step Toward a Free Food Market"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Olesiak] The Council of Ministers Economic Committee has adopted the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industry's plans to demonopolize the procurement and trade of agricultural produce and food commodities. This is the first step toward a free market in agriculture and the food economy, similar to the fruit and vegetable market which is already acting to the advantage of producers and consumers.

Right now, at a time of official prices and meat rationing, as well as heavy subsidies, it is impossible to change over to market principles suddenly. This has to occur gradually and carefully, or else disruptions to the food market, especially the rationed food market, could occur. Therefore, the first step is to lift the restrictions governing the procurement, processing, and trade of agricultural produce, in order to encourage competition in the food market.

For agriculture, this means the possible emergence of many private food growers and processors, plus more state farms that grow food. One will be able to choose one's own customers. A farmer will no longer be dependent on a single client—a monopolist who was able to dictate his own terms and not bother too much about providing his supplier with honest service. This should not only increase the farmers' sense of well-being, but increase their agricultural output as well.

On the other hand, allowing every producer, even a private one, to procure and process meat and cereal products will permit better use of local production potential, reduce production costs by shortening the distances of shipments, and force producers to improve the quality of their goods. We will no longer have to transport, for example, an entire shipment of meat or grain to distant processing plants and then transport the completed products back. Food for local markets, including for rationing, will be processed on the spot.

The important thing is that we have taken the first step toward a normal market economy, after at least 3 years of efforts to solve the problem. Finally, a decision has been made which, although it will not abolish rationing, will create more favorable decisions for producers and consumers, because a greater number of food processing plants will permit better use of locally-grown produce, and should ensure better quality and a wider range of goods.

[Bobula] What chances will small processing plants, especially new ones, have?

[Olesiak] The chances will be equal for everyone, because everyone will have the same conditions for action. Even small enterprises will avail themselves of subsidies payable for the production of goods that are rationed or subject to official prices. In addition, small processing plants, even private ones, will be able to obtain their supplies directly from farmers. Everyone involved in food processing will enjoy economic concessions such as tax reductions and loans.

We expect more and more people to be willing to set up food processing plants soon. Apart from lifting the monopolies, this will be encouraged by the adoption of two major new laws probably still in 1988—the law on enterprise and the law on foreign capital.

[Bobula] Will the demonopolization also apply to the processing of milk, which is dominated by dairy cooperatives?

[Olesiak] There are many obstacles here. Although milk is not rationed, it is heavily subsidized, and apart from dairy cooperatives there is a lack of milk processing plants. In order to break the monopoly of dairy cooperatives, there have to be others willing to undertake this processing. Economic conditions, involving investments and credits will be created for this purpose.

### Free-Market Sale of Meat Considered

*LD2010091388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Oct 88*

[Text] The minister of domestic market accepted the proposition of the minister of agriculture, forestry, and food economy concerning the possibility of the free-market sale of meat and processed meat by the state farms. There is a chance, then, that soon on the free-market there will be a greater choice—not only of meat, but of processed meat products.

### Orzechowski on Changes in Socialism

*LD0710201188 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 7 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 7—In an interview for the SZTANDAR MLODYCH daily Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of PUWP CC, said in part: "The image of socialism and the ways leading to it have rapidly been changing nowadays, and not only in our country. We are participants and co-originators of a great breakthrough. Life has brought the hitherto image of socialism to the ground and pulled it together. We reject everything that did not stand the time test and confrontation with reality. We seek new, more effective solutions.

"So what is left. Everything that have resisted the historic upheavals. The world of values and objectives being the essence of socialism: human drive towards social justice, self-realisation, towards freedom and social security. The measures without which those values and objectives would remain utopia include the public property of the means of production, the people's rule, the leading role of the working class and its party—the political power in whose capacity lies ensuring the socialist economic and political order."

Asked about the present criteria of extremism, Orzechowski said: "There is no universal pattern for it. There are many such viewpoints and attitudes. I would number a will to make Poland a theocratic state or a concept that the only panacea for our problems is retuning to the status quo from before 1939, among them."

### Rakowski Receives FRG Economic Official

*LD1710211088 Warsaw PAP in English 2037 GMT 17 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 17—Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received Mondcay head of the Bundestag Economic Committee Herman J. Unland.

The two discussed cooperation between Poland and the FRG, with particular regard to economic cooperation and selected international issues.

### SFRY's 'Difficult Test' Viewed

*AU1910151688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 88 p 6*

[Zbigniew Lesnikowski commentary: "LCY Facing Difficult Test"]

[Text] Belgrade—During my Sunday walk in Belgrade I could establish that life was continuing as normal, as is only possible, that there was no sign of nervousness and any militia patrols in the streets, and that there was no panic buying of flour and sugar. The Belgrade people enjoyed a quiet and warm weekend, one inviting them to make excursions to Titograd or to places around Belgrade.

Still, the Belgrade press is right in writing about unrest increasing day by day. Commentators continue to recall that tension has never been so dramatic since the war, as it is now. The world press, too, has never written so much about Yugoslav events since Tito's death. Preparations for the the LCY Central Committee plenum on Monday continued to attract attention all last week.

That plenum may produce far-reaching and positive changes. If it fails to produce them and if its debates are overwhelmed by a new confrontation, BORBA of 15-16 October writes, then, despite the new ideas taking root in Yugoslavia, a dangerous step backward could occur in Yugoslavia.

Optimists assert that this will not occur. Last week's sessions of the LCY Central Committees in individual republics, especially in the explosive autonomous region of Kosovo, stressed that the party is still strong enough to avert the danger of disintegration, to consolidate forces, and to overcome the present crisis—strong enough to overcome not only the economic crisis, which is marked by galloping inflation, reduced production, and increases in living costs, but also the social and political crisis, which involves the development concept of the party and of the federal state and not merely the methods of LCY work and the performance of the SFRY bodies. "Problem number 1 throughout the country is the issue of confidence in the leadership," POLITIKA states on Sunday in its dispatch from Titograd.

Those Central Committee sessions devoted special attention to the scope of constitutional changes and to the danger of a violent increase in nationalistic moods.

All types of nationalism appearing in Yugoslavia have been, are, and will be directed against Tito and against the socialist revolution, Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said last week at the LCY

leadership's session, which closely analyzed and condemned various attacks against the person and achievements of the Yugoslav President who died 8 years ago.

It should be assumed that that session will have a bearing on the Monday plenum of the LCY Central Committee, because Stipe Suvar clashed at that session with Slobodan Milosevic, chairman of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of the Communists of Serbia, who was most decisive in rejecting the charge that the highest communist body of Serbia was not active enough to oppose attacks against Tito and his achievements. Repercussions of that clash may prove to be too serious in view of the fact that its loud echoes reached not only the 200,000-strong Leskovec rally on Saturday, but also many of the deliberating bodies, which are on the side of one or the other politician in question.

The same differences diametrically divide the views as to the desirability of convening mass rallies in Serbia, Vojvodina, and Crna Gora, which were attended by over 3 million people. The Belgrade press estimates that the biggest rally, which should take place in Belgrade toward the end of the next week, may be attended by 1-1.5 million people, who intend to voice their solidarity with the Slovenian population that is being removed from Kosovo. In the meantime, counter to expectations, there have been no profound personnel changes in the leadership during the 17-hour session of the Central Committee session of the Kosovo party, which numbers over 100,000 members. That is why this matter, too, will return to the forum of the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum, which is meant to renew the composition of the Central Committee, although out of its 162 members elected at the 13th Congress only 19 are Central Committee members for the third time and 22 for the second time. Some have already submitted resignations, but the issue is most principled in character: He who fails to poll two-thirds of Central Committee votes will have to leave the Central Committee.

The last hour has struck, it was stated during preparations for the Monday plenum, and we should use this hour to sober up and jettison emotions, passions, and dogmatic and nationalistic myttha, which continue to greatly weaken the democratic opportunity to overcome the crisis and to realize the three reforms (of the economic and political systems and of the LCY) adopted by the recent party conference.

## Ministerial Talks With PRC on Radio, TV Open

*LD1810125088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Oct 88*

[Text] Talks between the Chinese Ministry of Radio, Cinema, and Television and Polish Radio and Television have opened in Warsaw. They are being chaired by Janusz Roszkowski, chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, and Ai Zhisheng, PRC minister of radio, cinema, and television.

## PRC's Qiao Shi, CPC Delegation Visit

### Received by Czyrek

*LD1910222588 Warsaw PAP in English 1747 GMT 19 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—Political Bureau member and PUWP CC secretary Jozef Czyrek received here today an official delegation of friendship of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party led by member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, the party's CC secretary and secretary of the Central Commission of Party Discipline Control Qiao Shi, now on a visit in this country at the invitation from the PUWP CC.

The sides discussed actions taken by the PUWP and the Chinese Communist Party in the democratization of socio-political life and in the implementation of economic reforms in the two countries in the light of resolutions of the 10th PUWP and the 13th Chinese Communist Party Congresses. They expressed satisfaction over the dynamics of the development of interparty cooperation and stressed prospects of its further development.

Jozef Czyrek and Qiao Shi exchanged information and views on some international problems that are of interest for the two sides.

Also today, the Chinese delegation met with Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Wladyslaw Baka who briefed the guests on problems connected with the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform. The Chinese delegation spoke about problems linked with introducing political and economic reforms in that country.

The talks were held in a frank and friendly atmosphere.

### Meet With Glowczyk

*LD2110021988 Warsaw PAP in English 1651 GMT 20 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Jan Glowczyk received Thursday [20 October] the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party CC headed by member of the Poiitical Bureau Standing Committee, ChCP [abbreviation as received] secretary and head of the Central Commission of Party Discipline Qiao Shi, now on a visit to this country at the invitation from the PUWP CC.

The meeting exchanged information on the activity of the PUWP and CHCP and experiences in the intraparty work.

On the same day the delegation met with head of the PUWP Central Control and Audit Commission Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak. The sides briefed each other on the work of their respective commissions. The talks passed in warm and friendly atmosphere.

### Delegation Visits Krakow

*LD2210122988 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1626 GMT 21 Oct 88*

[Text] Krakow, Oct. 21—The visiting official delegation of the Chinese Communist Party CC headed by member of the Political Bureau Standing Committee and ChCP [abbreviation as received] Secretary Qiao Shi went on Thursday [27 October] to Krakow, southern Poland.

The Chinese delegation met with Krakow political and administrative leadership, went to the "Unitra Telpod" industrial enterprise and visited the Wawel Castle.

### Jaruzelski Receives Qiao Shi

*LD2210220388 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1914 GMT 22 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 22—PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received a delegation of friendship of the Communist Party of China CC here today. The delegation is led by member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Communist Party of China CC and of the Central Commission of Control of Party Discipline of the Communist Party of China Qiao Shi. On October 18-22, the delegation visited Poland at the invitation from the PUWP CC.

During the talks, held in a friendly atmosphere, Wojciech Jaruzelski and Qiao Shi briefed each other about the situation in Poland and People's China in the light of the implementation of resolutions of the 10th Congress of the PUWP and the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of China, with a special regard to problems stemming from reforming the economy and processes of democratizing socio-political life.

They discussed the state of cooperation between the two parties and its significance for further development of Polish-Chinese relations. They exchanged also views on the most important international problems, stressing the necessity to cooperate to promote peace and detente, disarmament and political solutions to regional conflicts.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Qiao Shi expressed the will to further develop cooperation between both parties serving well to tighten friendly bilateral relations between both states and peoples.

Head of the PUWP CC Foreign Department Ernest Kucza took part in the talks. Present was Chinese Ambassador to Poland Pei Yuanying.

During their visit to Poland the Chinese guests were also received by members of the Political Bureau and PUWP CC Secretaries Jozef Czyrek, Wladyslaw Baka and Jan Glowczyk. The delegation met also Chairman of the PUWP Central Control and Audit Commission Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

The Chinese guests also went to see Krakow.

### Qiao Shi, Delegation End Visit

*LD2210220688 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1953 GMT 22 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 22—The official delegation of friendship of the Chinese Communist Party, with member of the CCP [as received] CC Political Bureau's Standing Committee, CCP CC secretary and secretary of the Central Party Discipline Control Commission, Qiao Shi, ended a several-day-long visit to Poland here today.

The visit took place in a period of the considerable livening up of contacts between Warsaw and Beijing. A new stage in Polish-Chinese relations was initiated by the visits by the party leaders—Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to Beijing in 1986 and last year's visit to Poland by the then acting general secretary of the CCP CC, Zhao Ziyang. They began a process of the tightening of mutual contacts and comprehensive cooperation. The PUWP and CCP play an inspiring role in the shaping of these relations. Both parties' striving is that the relations take on a stable and long-term character.

During Qiao Shi's talks with members of the PUWP leadership the sides expressed satisfaction with the dynamics of the development of inter-party cooperation and its prospects.

Prior to his departure from Warsaw, the Chinese guest voiced a conviction, in an interview for PAP, that the CCP CC delegation's visit will contribute to the tightening of friendship between the parties and nations of both countries. "The results of our visit were highly evaluated by Wojciech Jaruzelski. In this talk I expressed the conviction that Poland will find a proper way of overcoming the present difficulties," Shi said.

At Warsaw's "Okecie" Airport the Chinese guest and the persons accompanying him were bidden farewell by PUWP CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, Jozef Czyrek, and other party officials. Present was Chinese Ambassador to Poland Pei Yuanying.

### Ceausescu Meets Lebanese CP Leader Hawi

*AU2710190488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1824 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/10/1988—On Thursday, October 27, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, received George Hawi, secretary-general of the CC of the Lebanese Communist Party, who paid a visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the CC of the RCP.

The guest expressed special satisfaction at the possibility to meet the RCP general secretary once again, to exchange opinions on problems of mutual concern. He expressed high appreciation for the Romanian foreign policy, for President Nicolae Ceausescu's international activity, initiatives and actions for the political settlement of the situation in the Middle East, for the reestablishment of peace and the normalization of the political, economic and social life in Lebanon.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the fine links of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Lebanese Communist Party and the joint determination was reiterated to further expand the manysided cooperation between the two parties, between Romania and Lebanon, in the interests of the Romanian and Lebanese peoples.

Aspects of the current international life were approached, with emphasis on those related to the Middle East.

President Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted Romania's consistent stance the global, just and durable settlement of the issues in the area and on the calling, to that end, of an international conference, under UN aegis, with the participation of the Security Council permanent members and all the sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel.

Furthermore, the RCP general secretary emphasized the need for intensified efforts to overcome the current situation in Lebanon as soon as possible, to find modalities conducive to broad collaboration among all the political forces, to ensure the unity of the Lebanese people, the country's independence and integrity.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

### Mozambican Premier Continues Visit

#### Holds Talks With Dascalescu

*AU2710200488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1836 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/10/1988—Official talks opened in Bucharest on October 27 between Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, and Mario da Graca Machungo, prime minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Emphasis was placed on the significant role of the summit meetings in Bucharest and Maputo for the manysided expansion and deepening of the relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the two parties and peoples.

In consideration of the existing multiple possibilities of intensifying the Romanian-Mozambican relations, the two prime ministers made a broad analysis of new ways and modalities conducive to the more powerful development of economic collaboration by promoting modern forms of cooperation, to the expansion and diversification of commercial exchanges. Palpable actions were agreed upon in the fields of agriculture, industry, mineral resources exploitation, woodworking, construction, staff training and others.

During the talks, the two countries' and peoples' concerns were also outlined for the implementation of their socioeconomic development plans and programmes.

Furthermore, opinions were exchanged on current issues of the world political life.

The talks, which passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, are attended by Gheorghe David, minister of agriculture, chairman for Romania of the Joint Commission of Economic Collaboration and other officials.

For Mozambique the talks are attended by Alexandre Zandamela, agriculture minister, co-chairman of the Joint Commission of Economic Collaboration, by other officials.

Also present are Romania's ambassador in Maputo and Mozambique's ambassador in Bucharest.

#### Tours Bucharest Units

*AU2710200888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1847 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/10/1988—On October 27, Mario da Graca Machungo, prime minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique, together with the officials accompanying him visited social units and urban facilities in Bucharest, with the Dimbovita River development site, the tube, the "Victoria Socialismului" boulevard and other units erected in recent years as part of the programme for the urban renewal of the Romanian capital among them.

The same day, the Mozambican premier saw round the Institute of Scientific Research and Technological Engineering for Farm Machinery and Equipment at Baneasa.

#### Dines With Dascalescu

*AU2710201088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/10/1988—Romania's Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu gave an official dinner in honour of Mario da Graca Machungo, prime minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Attending were members of the government, other Romanian officials as well as the officials accompanying the Mozambican premier.

During the dinner the atmosphere of which was of warm friendship the two heads of government proposed toasts.

### Dinca Attends CSSR Embassy Reception

*AU2710195788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1853 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/10/1988—The ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Bucharest, Jan Papp, gave a reception on 27 October on the 70th foundation anniversary of the independent Czechoslovak state.

In the attendance were Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, vice-chairmen of the Grand National Assembly, ministers, deputy heads of section at the CC of the RCP, representatives of central institutions, mass and public organizations, generals and officers, men of science and letters, journalists.

Present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania, other members of the diplomatic corps.

A press conference was held on the same occasion at the consulate of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Constanta when documentary films were shown.

Present were representatives of local party and state bodies, executives of institutions and enteprises.

Karel Dostal, consul-general of Czechoslovakia in Constanta, who spoke about the significance of the event, gave a cocktail party.

### Duma Meets Cypriot Foreign Ministry Official

*NC2110065488 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek 0430 GMT 21 Oct 88*

[Text] Foreign Ministry Director General Andreas Mavrommatis, currently on a 4-day visit to Romania, had talks in Bucharest with Aurel Duma, Romanian foreign affairs minister secretary of state. The two officials discussed bilateral relations and reviewed international problems. Mavrommatis also briefed Duma on Cyprus developments and on the process of talks between President Yeoryios Vasiliou and Rauf Denktas, as well as the results of the nonaligned foreign ministers conference in Nicosia. Mavrommatis conveyed a personal message and invitation from Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou to his Romanian counterpart Constantin Dascalescu [title as heard] to visit Cyprus.

The Romanian side repeated Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu's invitation to President Vasiliou to officially visit Romania.

Mavrommatis also discussed bilateral matters with Romanian Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Mihai Micu [title as heard].

### British Parliamentarians Call on Giosan, Others

*AU2710195588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/10/1988—On October 27, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania, had an interview with a delegation of the Foreign-Affairs Commission of the House of Commons in the British Parliament, led by Michael Jopling, Conservative deputy, who are paying a visit to Romania.

On the occasion, emphasis was placed on the contribution the parliaments and parliamentarians in the two countries can make to the expansion and diversification of the links of bilateral collaboration in fields of mutual interest.

The British delegation also had interviews with Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, Vasile Milea, minister of national defence, and Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

The same day, the Grand National Assembly Bureau gave a dinner in honour of the guests.

### Wreath Laying Ceremonies Held on Army Day

*AU2610141188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2115 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 25/10/1988—Tuesday, 25 October, on the Day of the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania, floral wreaths were laid at the Memorial of the Homeland's Heroes and the Military Cemetery "Ghencea" on behalf of the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of the Interior, the Bucharest Municipal RCP Committee and the Municipal People's Council as well as on behalf of the Committee of the Antifascist Fighters and War Veterans.

The ceremonies were attended by executive of the Ministry of National Defence, representatives of the Ministry of the Interior, of the Bucharest Municipal RCP Committee and the Municipal People's Council, active and retired generals, senior officers.

Floral wreaths were also laid at the Memorial of Soviet Heroes and the cemeteries of the Soviet soldiers at Jilava and Herastrau on behalf of the Ministry of National Defence, the local party and state bodies and of the Committee of Antifascist Fighters and War Veterans.

On the same occasion, wreaths were laid across the country at the cemeteries and memorials of the Romanian heroes and Soviet soldiers who died in the antifascist war.

## Federal Chamber Adopts 32 Constitutional Amendments

*AU2710204488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 88 p 3*

[Blazo Sarovic report: "Peace in the Family at the 11th Hour"]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct—On Saturday [22 October] the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly adopted the proposal containing 32 amendments to the SFRY Constitution. Out of 220 delegates, which is the number of members the Federal Chamber has when it is complete, 174 voted for the proposal, none opposed it, and only 3 delegates raised their hands to the question: "Does anyone wish to abstain from voting?" The missing 26 votes can be put down to "absence," and several delegates "distanced" themselves from voting.

Only the well-informed know what happened during the night between Friday and Saturday, and how the "abrupt change" in some delegates' views came about. It is a fact that on Friday the delegates went home late in the evening, after discussing the proposal on the amendments and leaving the amendments that had not been coordinated until that moment, together with the new provisions adopted by a majority vote for the Constitutional Commission which was supposed to meet once again and include these in the proposal.

### Calming Down the Passions [subhead]

For that reason, and because of the main contentious issue, the means of financing the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], the last session of the Constitutional Commission was expected to be tempestuous. However, instead of a tempest we had a "summer languor" in the fall. The commission simply plodded through the job, turning uncoordinated items into coordinated ones. Only occasionally would a member take the floor, and even then it was to intervene more about the word order than the essence. The passion of the debates held at previous sessions completely disappeared, and even if there were some opposing views, it was primarily due to prestige or "personal" relations, and less an attempt to "help" the amendments at the last moment. We admit that we were only partly correct when, in our Saturday issue, we suggested a compromise—that the others give up their stances on all uncoordinated amendments, and that Slovenia in return accept the provision on the need to designate the source of the funds for the Army other than the sales tax—as one of the possible ways of resolving the problem of amendments and achieving full agreement. For the sake of peace in the family, the "other seven" simply gave up everything that they had insisted on and endured up to that moment, abandoning even those provisions that had already been seen as part of the new constitution. However, the Slovenes still stubbornly stood firm on "all their issues," particularly the financing of the YPA.

On the last day, Zlatan Kavdic's working group met for the last time and presented another possibility that, in fact, was nothing other than what Slovenia wanted. That part of Point 2 of Amendment 34 no longer included the provision that income also be designated as a possible basis for allocated tax [namensko oporezivanje]. It was proposed instead that "...a special tax on sales and services and other allocated sources be introduced, as well as other taxes, if that is needed to ensure the necessary sum, up to the percentage established by the medium-term plan. The participation of individual republics and autonomous provinces in financing federal functions should remain within the framework of the established relation."

### Agreement Awaited [subhead]

This formulation obviously represents a synthesis of the stands that the Slovenes marked as the maximum of what they could accept, so it was immediately clear that Amendment 34 is no longer contentious from the point of view of our most developed republic. One only waited for the position of the federal government, which was at that moment in session in the other wing of the building, and for the position of the YPA's representatives, who were to present their views on the latest variant. The SFRY Assembly's Legislative and Legal Commission was asked for their interpretation of this amendment, particularly of the part which says "as well as other taxes, if that is needed to ensure the necessary sum....," and whether this implies that a special income tax can be introduced if there is a need. When agreements and interpretations arrived "at the 11th hour" there was enough time to put the technical equipment into operation and to have the amendments arrive at the assembly building and be set before the Federal Chamber delegates, whose session had meanwhile been adjourned several times in the expectation that the package of amendments would be agreed upon.

Dusan Popovski, president of the SFRY Assembly and of the Constitutional Commission, briefed the Federal Chamber delegates on the text of the proposal of amendments which had been established by the commission. Stojan Novakovic, president of the Federal Chamber, then asked for a vote on endorsing the text of the proposal and, immediately after, on adopting the proposal. The results of the two votes were approximately the same. In the further procedure, the adopted proposal is submitted to republican and provincial assemblies for discussion and agreement. If all assemblies agree to the proposal—which is expected with almost 100-percent certainty, considering the percentage of votes in favor of the proposal—the Federal Chamber will proclaim the amendments as adopted and as a constituent part of the SFRY Constitution at its session, which is expected to be convened shortly before Republican Day [29 November].

At the same session, the Federal Chamber adopted the conclusion on initiating the procedure of introducing a

new SFRY constitution. The next move should be made by the SAWPY Federal Conference, which should appoint the formal initiator of the work on the new constitution.

## New Judge Elected to Constitutional Court

*LD2110225288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 21 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—As has been reported, today in the Palace of the Federation, Dr Omer Ibrahimagic, the newly elected judge on the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, delivered and signed a solemn statement in front of Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and in the presence of the president and judges of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court.

## Presidium Urges Realization of LCY Tasks

*LD2710225888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic in Serb-Croatian 2009 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—At a session presided over by Stipe Suvar, the LCY Central Committee Presidium has examined the tasks of the Presidium in realizing the decision of the 17th and 18th sessions of the LCY Central Committee. It was stressed that in the LC membership and organizations, and in the public at large, the work and conclusions of the two sessions of the LCY Central Committee have been accepted and supported as a contribution to the continuation and intensification of the political line of the 13th congress and the LCY conference. It was also stressed that it is now particularly important to continue the creative initiative in rapid and consistent implementation of the three reforms and in preparation for the 14th LCY Congress. It was emphasized that at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, the LC affirmed and strengthened the platform of the LCY conference for the realization of priority tasks, and that now it is most important that with their initiatives and actions all LC orgnizations and organs rally all progressive forces of society and the working class. To this end, it was reported, that it is essential that all LCY organizations and leaders act in the most concrete manner in their own areas and act in the spirit of the conclusions of the 17th session.

The Presidium stressed that the 17th and 18th sessions of the LCY Central Committee contributed to overcoming the differences in views on certain issues,

The Presidium decided to begin at once with intensive preparations for the 19th session of the LCY Central Committee, which will be held in November and which will debate the ideopolitical aspects of economic reform. The commission for the LC transformation, which was elected at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, will organize, it was said, debates throughout the LCY and will try to gather the broadest possible circle of creators and theoreticians to arrive at the platform for the LC's transformation, which it must submit to the Central Committee by the end of next January. Preparations for the 14th LCY Congress will also be proposed as soon as possible. In accordance with the 17th session decisions, the realization of the tasks for the cadre renewal of the LCY Central Committee and LCY Central Committee Presidium, as well as for the LC leaders in the republics, provinces, and municipalities, will also be tackled.

At the session it was additionally noted that there is a need for essential changes in the concrete behavior of the public information media, particularly in overcoming one-sided public information, which is present more or less everywhere. The Presidium therefore calls on Communists in the public information sector to immediately tackle the realization of the tasks of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee which relate to public newspapers and information activity as a whole.

The Presidium noted that the 17th session reaffirmed that the Kosovo situation is the most urgent joint task requiring comprehensive, urgent, concrete, and effective solutions. Bearing this in mind, the Presidium decided to next week hold a joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Presidium to examine the implementation of the stands and tasks of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee concerning Kosovo. Simultaneously, the Presidium draws attention to the exceptional importance of the adoption of the Serbian Constitution amendments within the fixed deadlines, and also to the duty of Communists to strive for the realization of the tasks and activities of the LC, which the LCY Central Committee adopted at its 17th session. The LC Central Committee Presidium stresses that all Communists in Kosovo, especially the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and the most resonsible functionaries from the ranks of Albanian nationals, are honor bound to vigorously strive for the successful ending of the public debate and for preparations for the changes to the Serbian Constitution on the basis of the draft amendments adopted by the Serbian Assembly and proceeding consistently from the basic ideopolitical assessments and stands established by the 17th session. The realization of the necessary functions of Serbia on its entire territory, envisioned by the proposed constitutional changes, in no way jeopardizes the essence of the autonomy of the provinces. It is necessary, then, to point out, in a well-argued way, the unacceptable attitude toward the draft changes in the 1974 Constitution and the unprincipled interference in and abuse of the name of Comrade Tito in this connection.

As for citizens' gatherings in Kosovo Polje immediately after the 17th LCY Central Committee session, the Presidium examined the report of Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, whose speech and activity were supported in full. The Presidium assessed as necessary urgent measures for the realization of all concrete tasks endorsed by the LCY Central Committee at its 17th session concerning the

stabilization of the Kosovo situation and in line with the consistent implementation of the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committee session. Considering the very difficult situation in the province, these tasks are top priority, and their realization demands full coordination and joint action, as well as the highest degree of unity of all the organs of the LC's of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia.

### Comparison of Zarkovic Speech to LCY

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian on 20 October on pages 6 and 7 carries a TANJUG-attributed report on the opening speech delivered by Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 18th LCY Central Committee session held in Belgrade on 19 October. The OSLOBODJENJE report has been compared with the Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Serbo-Croatian version published in the 21 October East Europe DAILY REPORT on page 62, revealing the following addition:

Paragraph one, sentence one reads in OSLOBODJENJE: [Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—We can justifiably say that the public debate on the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution has been comprehensive, mobilizing, and democratic. This was stated by Vidoje Zarkovic in his introductory speech at the 18th session of the LCY Central Committee. The discussion has confirmed a very profound degree of interest of the working people and citizens in giving their full creative contribution to defining new constitutional provisions. Such positive results have been achieved mainly thanks to the fact that the 12th session of the LCY Central Committee has established clear ideopolitical tenets, criteria, and orientations on activities concerning changes to the SFRY Constitution, and this has contributed to the direction of the public debate. [new paragraph]

Very important is the fact that this discussion has not been reduced to a mere discussion on offered provisions in the draft of amendments, nor has it, generally speaking, produced unreserved support for all the proposed changes. In open and very critical discussions, the working people and citizens accepted the essence of the majority of the proposed amendments, initiated and offered new solutions, and demanded even more profound changes for a more rapid surmounting of the crisis and for establishing adequate constitutional provisions giving an impetus to the further socialist, self-managing development of our society. [new paragraph]

The public debate... (providing initial two paragraphs)

### Comparison of Report on 'Immediate' LCY Tasks

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 24 October on pages 1, 6, and 7 carries the text of the document "Immediate Tasks and Activities of the LCY for Overcoming the Unfavorable Political, Economic, and Social Situation in the Country." The POLITIKA report has been compared with the TANJUG Domestic Serbo-Croatian version published in the 24 October East Europe DAILY REPORT on page 55, revealing the following variations:

Page 60, column one, last paragraph, last sentence reads in POLITIKA: ...propose it to the LCY Central Committee. [new paragraph]

The overall activity... (deleting first paragraph on page 60, column two)

Page 61, column one, first paragraph reads in POLITIKA: ...economic, social, cultural, and every other sphere. [new paragraph]

The basic orientations... (deleting first two sentences on page 61, column two, second paragraph)

### Presidency, Government To View 'Economic Crisis'

*LD2510180088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1603 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav economic crisis will be the main theme at a joint session of the Yugoslav Presidency (the country's collective head of state) and the government of Prime Minister Branko Mikulic on Friday, October 28.

This will only be the third joint session of the government and the Presidency in the past eight years since the collective Presidency of the state was established. The first was held in April 1981, the second in November 1985.

At the session, President Dizdarevic is expected to make an assessment of the economic situation, burdened with a 20 billion dollar foreign debt, 217 percent inflation and living standards that have declined to levels of 20 years ago.

The economic crisis was debated in the national parliament and parliaments of Yugoslavia's six republics and two provinces, as well as at the 17th session of the Yugoslav party leadership.

### 'Seriousness' of Situation Noted

*AU2510215288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 OCT 88*

[Text] The SFRY Presidency and the FEC will hold a joint session on Friday 28 October at which they will discuss the current economic situation in the country. President Raif Dizdarevic is expected to present the Presidency's assessments of the current economic trends.

TANJUG points out that the very fact that the Presidency had decided to convene this joint session points to the seriousness of the situation in our economy. The

session is expected to contribute to the search for the fastest ways to curb the economic crisis and for a gradual recovery of the Yugoslav economy.

### Dizdarevic on Reforms, 'Crucial' Times

*AU2810092588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 28 Oct 88*

[Report by Djordje Vlajic on a joint session of the SFRY Presidency and the FEC—recorded]

[Text] The basic task of the collective head of state and the government is to discuss the aims of economic policy for this year, the foundations, directions, and aims of economic policy for 1989, and the preparations for adopting the measures for a comprehensive economic policy. This (?is the working task) of this session.

Opening the discussion, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, stressed that the present time is crucial for Yugoslavia in many respects. The economic reform is being brought to a conclusion, and the reform of the economic system is beginning. Dizdarevic stressed, however, that (?these) key changes are taking place in a very unfavorable social situation. Poor economic performance is still the basic trait of the domestic economy. At the same time, political and intranational tensions have grown to such an extent that the political-security situation in the country has seriously deteriorated. The situation in Kosovo has especially deteriorated.

Political and (?intranational) tensions have absorbed tremendous social energy and have significantly reduced the overall efforts to resolve the burning economic and social problems and to implement the economic reform.

### Draft Law on Economic Enterprises Submitted

*LD2510214088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1942 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 25 (TANJUG)—Under a new draft law submitted by the government of Prime Minister Branko Mikulic to the Assembly of Yugoslavia today, economic enterprises will again become a basic category of economic operation in Yugoslavia.

The new law would in fact annul regulations contained in the Associated Labour Act adopted in 1976, which atomized the Yugoslav economy and is partly to blame for the current economic crisis.

Enterprises, which were named "work organizations" in 1976, have up to now been divided into many small, completely autonomous "organizations of associated labour," frequently having conflicting interests. Changes in the associated labour act are one of the vital preconditions for a full materialization of the concept of the free market economy on which the League of Communists of Yugoslavia insists.

The draft law also envisages the possibility of setting up joint enterprises with foreign investors. The rights and obligations of foreign investors would be regulated by contracts.

Under the new law, the managerial and self-management functions would be separated and a managerial board would have full powers in conducting business, managing the production process and representing enterprises. The organ would report at the end of each year to the workers' council, which would retain its responsibility for the overall management of the enterprise.

Under the draft, it would also be possible to open private enterprises, as well as enterprises with mixed forms of ownership, where citizens-investors would be shareholders.

### FEC Announces Elimination of Economic Plans

*LD2710202188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1918 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 27 (TANJUG)—As of next year, Yugoslav enterprises will not have to adopt economic plans, it was said at the session of the Federal Economic Council here Thursday [27 October].

Under a draft of the new planning law, which is currently being discussed in parliament, the enterprises will decide themselves whether they will make economic plans and what will be covered by them.

Dr Zarko Papic, director of the Yugoslav Administration for Social Planning, said that the draft is in compliance with the market economy and that it also represents a profound criticism of the planning system, practice and theory so far.

The new planning law is in accordance with the planned changes in the economic structure, said Papic, where priority is given to export as the main lever of development and stimulus for enabling the Yugoslav economy to compete successfully on the international market.

The future law also does not envisage the necessity of adopting the annual resolution on the country's development. Instead, a document setting out only basic economic policy goals—the rate of economic growth, export and inflation—will be adopted.

### Kosovo Group Asks To See Leaders in Belgrade

*LD2710200988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 27 (TANJUG)—A fifteen-member group of Kosovo citizens, consisting mainly of university students of Serb and Montenegrin nationalities, arrived in Belgrade this morning in an attempt to win from top Yugoslav officials guarantees that the party leadership of the Province of Kosovo would be replaced.

The fifteen said they would not leave until their demand was fulfilled.

The group is asking for the replacement of the Kosovo party leadership as it holds that that body bears the greatest responsibility for the fact that the activities of ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the province have not been halted.

More than 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have emigrated from Kosovo since 1981 fleeting the terror of separatists.

The group is currently holding a meeting with officials of the youth organization of Serbia, a part of which is the Province of Kosovo. Before this meeting, the Kosovans spent four hours in the Headquarters of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee in a fruitless wait for party leader Stipe Suvar, Yugoslav Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic and Prime Minister Branko Mikulic, one of whom they had demanded to meet.

The group, who say they have been on hunger strike since last night, was received by party leadership member Vasil Tupurkovski.

The Kosovans, however, refused to talk with him, although they assessed him as a "proven Communist, patriot and Yugoslav, whose views on the problem of Kosovo are well known."

The fifteen refused to leave Belgrade even after Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian party leadership, suggested that they do so and await the results of the joint session of the state, Kosovo and Serbian party leaderships, which is set for next week.

The Kosovans were then addressed by Milan Vujovic, head of Suvar's cabinet, who said the party leader would certainly have received them if had been free, but he was at the time at a meeting of the party leadership and would tomorrow attend a meeting of the Yugoslav Presidency.

Vujovic also said Suvar would soon visit Kosovo to discuss the group's demands with them.

The Kosovans were not satisfied with this reply.

### Group Meets Officials

*LD2710215988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2052 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 27 (TANJUG)—A group of 15 citizens from the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo, mainly students and pupils of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, left Belgrade for Pristina this evening after having held talks with party and youth organization leaders.

The group arrived in Belgrade this morning, demanding that the Kosovo party leadership be replaced and stressing they would not leave the capital until their demands were met.

The Kosovo students and pupils, who announced they had begun a hunger strike last night, asked for the replacement of the Kosovo party leadership, maintaining that it is chiefly responsible for the activity of Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the province, which has autonomy within the Republic of Serbia, not having been curbed.

After today's talks in Belgrade, however, the group agreed to return to Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, under certain conditions, among which that they should be received by President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency Stipe Suvar by November 3. The talk should not be attended by any one official of the Republic of Serbian or of the Federation. They also demanded that the competent organs in the Province of Kosovo, the Republic of Serbia and the Federation should guarantee their security when they returned to Pristina.

### Further on Montenegro Assembly, Kosovo 'Drama'

*LD2710160688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 26 Oct 88*

[Excerpts] Titograd, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—There is no justification for the protracted lack of success in resolving the drama of Kosovo, which at the same time reflects and is the cause of deep disruptions in the socioeconomic and social life of the entire country. This was the view expressed by delegates in the Montenegro Assembly who today discussed the activities the republic is taking to implement the Yugoslav program on Kosovo. They did this first in a joint session and then at separate sessions of the assembly chambers.

At the joint session, Petar Cukic, president of the Chamber of Associated Labor, informed the delegates about the prior fulfilment of the tasks set by the program.

Montenegro has always had an active and principled attitude toward and has been making efforts more speedily and more consistently to fulfill its obligations and tasks under the joint program on Kosovo. The republic's active attitude has been evident, Cukic said, in its efforts to bring about changes in the federal Constitution, its unambiguous and public statements on the need to resolve the issue of Serbia's constitutional position, and in its efforts to suppress the negative influence and activity by counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo on traditionally good intranational relations in Montenegro.

In addition to considerable results achieved in consolidating economic cooperation between its work organizations and collectives in the province on the basis of the pooling of labor and resources, Montenegro has also provided Kosovo with cadre assistance, especially in the judiciary. [passage omitted]

It was noted in discussions at the separate sessions of the assembly's chambers that, despite large-scale and intensive efforts by the republics and the SAP of Vojvodina to implement the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, the situation in the province is not improving, and that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is continuing and intranational divisions are deepening.

In Vojo Srzentic's view, there is still no definite answer to the causes of this anomaly. He considers the minimal effects of reeducating younger generations of Albanians indoctrinated on a large scale by greater-Albanian nationalists as one of the main reasons for unsatisfactory specific results. Another imperative for success is, according to Srzentic, full unity among the leaderships in the country, in all the republics and provinces, and in view of the situation in Kosovo. The 17th session of the LCY Central Committee has made contributions to this end, and its conclusions should be implemented as soon as possible . It is also necessary, Srzentic said, to carry out important cadre changes in Kosovo and to bring in to head all political and state organs people who will be prepared to fight for the LC's stands and efforts. To put it simply, we have to find several thousand Husamedins Azemis [Kosovo political figure] in Kosovo because bringing in people from other parts of the country as a temporary solution does not guarantee continuity. [passage omitted]

## SFRY, Regional Officials Meet in Novi Sad

*LD2710185788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1729 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Text] Novi Sad, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—A meeting was held today in the Presidium of the Socialist Autonomous Province (SAP) of Vojvodina. The highest officials of the Federation, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the SAP of Vojvodina discussed the most topical economic and political-security questions concerning Vojvodina. Particular attention was devoted to the measures which are being taken and which should be taken in this regard.

Taking part in the talks were Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency; Petar Gracanin, president of the Serbian Presidency; Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Serbian Presidency; and Borisav Jovic, president of the Serbian Assembly.

The communique notes that the president of the Vojvodina SAP Assembly, the president of the Provincial Executive Council, the chairman of the working group of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, and the president of the Presidium of the Vojvodina Chamber of Commerce also took part in the talks.

## 3 'Lawbreakers' at Titograd Rally Sentenced

*AU2810074088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 88 p 14*

[S.V. report: "Lawbreakers at the Meeting Punished"]

[Text] Titograd, 18 Oct—Six days after the Titograd meeting, Vukman V. Cejovic (28) of Titograd was arrested for saying at the meeting that he will commit suicide if he is given at least one piece of evidence showing that this country contains anything that is socialist and that it is led by fascists. The magistrate gave him a 60-day prison sentence to begin immediately.

Milo V. Djukic (26) of Titograd, a psychology student in his 4th year, was given a 55-day sentence for violating public law and order, and was immediately sent to prison.

A report on a misdemeanor has been filed against Nikola I. Dedic (58) of Titograd.

## Rector Named Slovene Presidential Candidate

*LD2810000188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 27 Oct 88*

[Summary] Ljubljana, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—Dr Ivan Ribnikar, rector of the economics faculty of Boris Kidric University in Ljubljana and born in 1936, was today confirmed as a candidate for membership in the Slovene Presidency. In the second round of voting he obtained 123 out of a possible 184 votes. The other candidate, Igor Bavcar, received 61 votes.

## Commentary Assesses 17th LCY Session, Reforms

*AU2510133488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Oct 88 p 1*

[Ivan Torov commentary: "'A Barricade' for Caution"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the journalists' least rewarding task at present is to evaluate the scope and results of the just ended marathon and at times dramatic 17th LCY Central Committee session, especially if one considers the fact that no objective assessment can be made without taking into account the country's circumstances and social and political tensions under which this session was convened, and our unique habit of seeing every plenum as the key to our troubles. This plenum was publicly proclaimed in advance as a historic plenum by many ambitious politicians.

If we ignore for a minute emotions, passions, mutual intolerance, megalomaniac and unrealistic expectations, and the quarreling manners of our politicians, there is only one correct way to realistically and in a sober-minded way evaluate the Central Committee's breakthroughs, where it was below the level of the situation and what it demanded from the top party leadership.

If the quality of the session is to be judged according to what was said and concluded, then the far-reaching effects of some positions adopted at the 17th session will certainly be confirmed if we persevere with the strongly expressed call by the Central Committee for the creation of the union of the Yugoslav reformist forces, as well as with its basic premise that the present Yugoslav crisis cannot be surmounted without a thorough reform of socialism.

The ultimate positive outcome of the 17th session will, of course, primarily depend on whether the country's top party leadership, or some other decisionmaking centers, will go a step further from the plenum's discussion. This will also depend on whether they will have strength, on whether they will be ready and have the political will not to let things slip back, whether they themselves will stop being the factor of "producing" old things. If they can demonstrate this in practice, then the 17th session will leave a considerably smaller number of questions and reservations of principle than there are now. Only in this case will the positive assessment of the 17th session not be conditional.

However, the crucial question is: Have the Central Committee and its 17th session started at all to tackle relations in the LCY which led to the present unbearably bad situation in society and the party. In recent years almost all the "braver" decisions of both the Central Committee and the LCY Congress failed their examination at the "barricades" of these relations. The decisions of the recently held LCY conference have also been questioned.

It is indisputable that the 17th session has made breakthroughs that should not be ignored, but the great question is whether the session has started the process of destroying everything that has kept the LC for years in a self-imposed straitjacket? In other words: Will this process not only be started with the start of the party reform and with the 14th congress...?

Therefore, there is a place for sound caution as to what will happen to the mood for reforms in the initial stage (until the 14th congress), not only because there is little time left, but also because of the outstanding question as to whether the 17th session has made the LCY Central Committee more capable of synthesizing Yugoslav politics and ideology and becoming itself the center of the "union of reformist forces." Of course, it should be the true political center of the LCY and its parts that are to a great extent divided through quarrels. If one adds to all this the fact that certain conceptual differences concerning economic and political reforms have been expressed at the 17th session, then the caution would be that more understandable.

Adopting the decision to create a commission for reforming the LCY, the Central Committee obviously went along with the well-known saying: "It is never too late if the job is done properly." A decision to concretize the future vision of the party is certainly a good move by the Central Committee. It has been known for a long time that every social reform, however much desired, will be doomed to failure if its initiators and creators—the LCY in any case—retain obsolete positions and concepts.

This is why today it is very important to know what the reform of the LCY will achieve, whether the reform will pursue the well-known recipe of cosmetic modifications and improvements to the current concept of the party, or whether the reform will involve more profound moves which will facilitate the removal from the LC of everything that currently makes it perfectly federalized on the national level, often perfectly monolithic on the republican-provincial level, and which makes it a state party which, at all levels, holds all the strings in its hands badly and unsuccessfully. The dissolution of the "marriage" between the LC and state authorities is the fundamental prerequisite for freeing the economy and creative initiatives from the guardianship and firm embrace of politics.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium's offer to the LCY Central Committee to hold a secret vote of confidence is a move that deserves every compliment. The way things have been going recently has clearly shown that radical steps must be made. It is partly its own fault that the Presidium has been exposed to very strong pressure for months. It was accused of inconsistent and opportunistic behavior, of bending with the wind, of having difficulty in coping with the increasing national, political, economic, and social dissatisfaction among the masses and its membership. The fact is that the members of the Presidium were burdened by mutual differences, misunderstanding, and even clashes. This was mainly a consequence of the federalized relations within the leadership, which is to say, of the leadership's being prevented from acting as the real cohesive political center. This was also a consequence of the leadership's lack of readiness to shoulder this burden.

Having found itself in the gulf between its own inability and dramatic events in society, and in view of the fact that four of its members (among whom two are its former presidents) had to tender their resignations for different reasons, the Presidium exposed itself to the risk of a vote of confidence with the intention of receiving a definite answer from the Central Committee as to whether it could continue to work in its present, depleted form. This act—if it becomes standard practice—will itself represent a favorable wind in the sails of the democratization of both the LC and society as a whole, regardless of the fact that the first vote of confidence could have been unfavorable for some other Presidium members, and that it has produced an outcome that was to some extent limited by the current balance of power in the party and by the extremely aggravated climate among the leaderships.

The dramatic discussion on whether to hold a secret vote of confidence, or to extend support to the Presidium without voting, which is to say by acclamation, is also an expression of the current political atmosphere and compounded political and cadre permutations. In this process, some individuals did not even hesitate to mention the theses that a "secret ballot is not democracy."

It is good that the LCY Central Committee Presidium remained firm in its call for a secret ballot and that the Central Committee decided on this by a majority vote. It is good that the party leadership has finally understood the meaning of so-called formal democracy and that this time formal unity did not prevail on such important issues.

However, it will not be good if all this remains a mere temporary "achievement" of the 17th session, an achievement conditioned by the circumstances under which the session was held. Without a vote of confidence as a permanent feature in internal party relations in the country's party leadership, there will not be the very necessary optimum amount of cadre insecurity. Similarly, it will not be good if the announced cadre renewal within the Central Committee itself "generates" less of this kind of insecurity, and if it more or less merely boils down to departures reducing the number of posts held by one person.

## Press Expresses Doubts on LCY Session Results

*AU2510183388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Oct 88 p 6*

[V. N. Dzafc report: "The Doubting Thomases Lost"]

[Text] The conference hall of the Belgrade Sava Center has not yet "cooled down" and, as expected, the columns of our newspapers have been flooded with reactions and commentaries on everything that was heard and that occurred at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee.

As Ljubljana DELO said in its 20 October edition: "Not everything that was desired under the present circumstances occurred." In the commentary, "Another Chance for Politics," DELO added: "A lot of things can be forgiven, because the LCY Central Committee demonstrated much responsible wisdom. It made it known more clearly than all the political-executive organs that it will not change the foundations of the Yugoslav federal building and that it will not support such moves." Pointing out the resolution of the LCY Central Committee to change the considerable number of people in the federal party leadership, DELO also says: "Precedence must be given to those people who have already shown that they have firm and progressive attitudes, a developed feeling for understanding other and different people, and great knowledge, but also personal resourcefulness. These are people who do not hit out at poverty while loudly insulting those who, even in the poorest communities, know how to provide a life worthy of man for themselves and their working people."

Differences "Pushed Aside" Because of Common Interests [subhead]

On the same day, NARODNE NOVINE from Nis claimed that some dilemmas had not been cleared up at the 17th plenum. "The question of political responsibility was not sufficiently clearly defined at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee for a long time (and perhaps it remains this way for many people)" stresses NARODNE NOVINE. The newspaper says among other things: "It would be real socialist luck if certain politicians were to have the kind of faces which show when they are blushing—regardless of whether their inconsistency in words and actions, or even exploitation, is proved—while, for example, they hunt big game during official trips with society footing the bill." In conclusion, NARODNE NOVINE says: "Fortunately, the citizens of Yugoslavia can distinguish very well between policy and politicking, and they are decisive in saying for themselves what sort of leaders they need."

KOMUNIST writes in a joint edition in a commentary entitled "Open Opportunities": "Perhaps doubting Thomases will nevertheless remain doubting because the 17th session did not take place in a shaped and uniform way. On the contrary, there were differences, different interpretations, and different approaches at it, just as at previous plenums. However, this time the differences were "pushed aside" in favor of togetherness and unity of the country as its original and social force...." "The tolerance that was expressed at the session regarding one phenomenon or other of our present reality acted and will act as a balm for our wound, and as an opportunity to calm down the overheated political climate in the country and create a working and creative atmosphere everywhere." In the Serbian edition of KOMUNIST, the commentary "The Voting and the Consequences" says that the course and final document of the session "hinted at decisive and concrete action to find a way out of the crisis, but the session was thwarted at the last minute." "The unity which was achieved with great difficulty at this meeting of hope was destroyed by the ill-considered action of some members of the LCY Central Committee." KOMUNIST claims further that "therefore, the result of the vote could not be interpreted any differently than as a reaction to the policy of the Serbian LC and to the SR of Serbia" and that all this cannot be interpreted any differently than as "an inpermissable punishment for a positive policy and a lesson for one leadership (of the SR of Serbia), along with a lack of criticism of another policy and a kind reaction to another leadership (the untouchable Kosovo LC Provincial Committee)."

The LCY Central Committee Proved Its Own Existence [subhead]

An article in yesterday's edition of Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE entitled "The Defense of its Own Legitimacy," states among other things: "Perhaps at this moment it is really not possible, as one of the participants in the discussion claimed at the last session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, to answer with certainty the question of whether the LCY exists, although the LCY Central Committee has proved its own existence. Along with all the reservations that it is possible to have about one thing or another that was said or that happened at the plenum, the indisputable fact is that the LCY Central Committee did what was possible at that moment, in order to retrieve its lost positions in the political life of the country and its reputation in the eyes of those people whose leadership it would like to be...." "It could even be said," writes OSLOBODJENJE, "that it has 'returned the blow' to the forces of terror, arbitrary condemnation, and name-calling; it has publicly announced that it has no intention of being easy and certain prey to every pressure, only because its hands have been tied by its compromised members. It has also publicly announced its resolution to break with people in a humane way, regardless of why or how they leave. It has resisted the denial of its own existence, faced with the horrifying possibility that after every LC session a greater or smaller number of LC members would be called to account or condemned only because they said one thing or another at a session, that they thought aloud, or that they said something that did not quite please everyone." At the end of the commentary, OSLOBODJENJE concludes: "Therefore, it should not be forgotten that not only ballot papers remain after the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, but also a jointly adopted political document. Those of us in Yugoslavia who will not rejoice so much over the fact that some people are losing and lament more because some others are winning are in the majority."

The First Lines of Reform Are Being Written [subhead]

Under the title "A Pyrrhic Victory," Belgrade NIN also deals with the results of the secret ballot at the last plenum. Claiming that it was "certain" as early as Monday, the first day of the 17th session, that only Dusan Ckrebic would not get the sufficient number of votes, NIN writes that Ckrebic would not get the votes "only because he is a Presidium member who comes from Serbia and because this would demonstrate to the Serbian leadership and the Serbian people that they were "completely surrounded by a coalition".... "The reason is more than simple: Dusan Ckrebic, along with Slobodan Milosevic, Petar Gracanin, Bogdan Trifunovic, and Borisav Jovic, is the politician who expounded the most after the 8th session of the Serbian LC Central Committee on the new policy of the Serbian leadership. Ckrebic has borne the brunt only because the powers of the LCY Central Committee cannot extend to the other "leaders" who are exponents of the new Serbian policy." Commenting also that "Ckrebic was not rejected for reasons which could originate in his personality," NIN claims: "The reasons lie in the policy of Serbia, which he bravely supported in the party leadership" and concluded: "Be that as it may, the Yugoslav party leadership will have to realize one thing: Only authentic representatives will be able to represent Serbian Communists. Ckrebic has become one of our rare politicians who has been 'rejected,' but to whom people in the street will take off their hats. That was the Pyhrric victory of the LCY Central Committee."

In its latest edition, NIN carries another commentary entitled "The Minimum of the Maximum" which says, among other things: "In any case, the most responsible forum of the LC has come to the joint conclusion that if some people rebelled because they were called to account in one way or another, everyone has now realized that the entire Central Committee and even the LC as a whole has been called to account. This name-calling cannot be avoided, and neither is there anyone who could carry out the LC's tasks in its place. To a certain extent, it can be said: This was a collision between the leading political organization in the country and its historic role. It was inevitable that the perception of the importance of this role would be a serious matter."

An article in yesterday's edition of Novi Sad DNEVNIK entitled "The Person Instead of Abstract Aims" says: "The truth is, however, (and this is also admitted by Suvar) that criticism has again overruled self-criticism, particularly self-criticism which would have to have been levelled against one's own state and nation, one's own nationalism, and everything that is one's own." DNEVNIK also claims that one thing is certain: "During the 2-day discussion, the first lines of reform were written which place the LCY at the head of the movement for social changes and the renovation of socialism."

## State Denies Involvement in Edinburgh Shooting

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[Text] Belgrade, Oct 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia most energetically rejects all speculations and irresponsible claims aimed at linking the country with last week's incident in Edinburgh, in which a well-known activist of the terrorist emigration was wounded, Yugoslav Government spokesman Ivo Vajgl stated today.

Replying to a question at today's regular press conference at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs here, Vajgl said that the Yugoslav Government only learned from the foreign press about the shooting incident between unidentified persons in which Nikola Stedul was injured.

Vajgl said that claims aiming to link Yugoslavia with the incident were all the more unfounded, as the British authorities' were still conducting their investigation.